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ABSTRACT

This study reviews the state-financed program of racial integration in metropolitan Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Public Schools. The integration program rested on the basic assumption that with enough time, state financial assistance, and new spending, racial integration would significantly improve academic achievement and close the gap between minority and white academic achievement. This report addresses the cost of the program, the manner in which it has been implemented, and academic results. Section 1 describes the financial investment by Milwaukee Public Schools and State aid programs during the first 12 years of the program (1976-88). Section 2 describes the busing and pupil assignment system within Milwaukee. Section 3 reviews academic achievement in Milwaukee "traditional" and "specialty" schools. Section 4 discusses the city-suburban integration program and academic achievement of transfer students. Section 5 reviews accountability for program cost and results. Section 6 discusses proposed program changes. Fourteen charts, 44 tables, and 11 maps are included. (JS)

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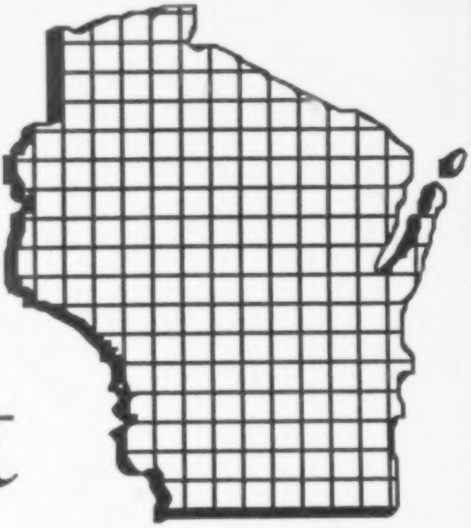

June 1989 Volume 2, No. 5

AN EVALUATION OF STATE-FINANCED SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE

UD027 181

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Report from the Executive Director:

The first report issued by the Institute on the Chapter 220 program in Milwaukee was authored by George Mitchell. This report was met with criticism from the educational establishment who questioned some of the numbers and conclusions. Subsequently a report released in May by the Compact for Educational Opportunity supported Mitchell's observations about rising transportation costs. The Compact pointed out that average transportation costs per pupil are approximately $2,000 and the costs for one child exceeded $21,000. This kind of spending indicates that the Chapter 220 program is financially out of control, with little accountability to the public in both its finances and its educational goals.

Mitchell's follow up study is important research. He examines not only the integration program between Milwaukee and its suburbs, but more importantly, what happens to poor, minority students left behind in the Milwaukee Public Schools. Perhaps nothing is more vivid than the busing maps in this report which show how minority students are distributed in Milwaukee. One need not be an educational expert to realize that this type of transportation program would not be attempted in a white neighborhood. Costs aside, taking black neighborhoods and destroying the concept of neighborhood schools to promote integration cannot be justified, because busing has not improved the quality of education for minority students. Other important data shows that minority children in the suburban transfer program represent a selective sample of MPS students. Their achievement is unremarkable.

One of the theories behind integration was that when it occurred it would improve achievement for minority children. This study states this has not been the case in Milwaukee or its suburbs.

It is clear from this report that there is very little public accountability, either in the finances of Chapter 220 or in the educational achievement of minority students. It is also clear why some suburban districts and the Compact for Educational Opportunity have been so unwilling to cooperate with our efforts to try to understand what is going on in the program. The questions raised here in terms of financing, educational opportunity, and the screening of children in the program should be examined by the Legislature, which in the final analysis determines the amount of money that will be appropriated for this program. It makes little sense to have Chapter 220 financed by the rest of the state if it is not improving the quality of education for poor minority students children in Milwaukee.

James H. Miller

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AN EVALUATION OF STATE-FINANCED SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE

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AN EVALUATION
OF
STATE-FINANCED SCHOOL
INTEGRATION IN
METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE

by George A. Mitchell

An Evaluation of State-Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee

By George A. Mitchell

SUMMARY

This study reviews the state-financed program of racial integration in metropolitan Milwaukee public schools. It addresses the cost of the program, the manner in which it has been implemented, and academic results.

SECTION I describes the financial investment.

SECTION II describes busing and pupil assignment within Milwaukee.

SECTION III reviews academic achievement in Milwaukee "traditional" and "specialty" schools.

SECTION IV discusses the city-suburban integration program and academic achievement of transfer students.

SECTION V reviews accountability for program cost and results.

SECTION VI recommends changes.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF RACIAL INTEGRATION IN METROPOLITAN MILWAUKEE

January 1976. Federal Judge John Reynolds ruled the Milwaukee Public Schools were segregated unlawfully.

April 1976. The Wisconsin Legislature enacted Chapter 220, a program to aid in implementing integration within MPS and to promote metropolitan integration.

September 1976. Implementation of Chapter 220 began, within the city and on a city-suburban basis.

May 1979. Judge Reynolds approved the plan MPS had been using since 1976 to respond to the order to end segregation.

PROGRAM ASSUMPTIONS

The integration program rested on the basic assumption that with enough time, state financial assistance, and new spending, racial integration would improve significantly minority academic achievement and close the gap in minority and white academic achievement.

Another expectation was that minority and white children and families would benefit from a climate of racial interaction, rather than racial isolation. This study did not examine that aspect of the program.

IMPLEMENTATION

The financial investment. Section I describes spending by MPS and state aid during the first 12 years of integration (1976 - 1988). During that period:

State aid grew 278% and totalled more than $1.8 billion.

The state share of MPS spending grew to 54% from 31%. This allowed a decline in school property taxes, in inflation-adjusted terms.

Higher state aid enabled per pupil MPS spending to increase 190%. This compares to an inflation rate of 114%.

The additional state aid included $334.9 million (1976-1989) in Chapter 220 funds to help implement integration. Of this amount:

MPS received $255 million. This was allocated for busing ($143.5 million) and education of suburban transfers to MPS ($14.1 million). The remaining surplus ($97.4 million) was available for new education programming to augment integration.

Suburban districts received $79.9 million as incentives to enroll minority transfers from Milwaukee. The incentives exceed the cost of educating transfer students. Payments include 20% "bonuses" if minority transfers exceed 5% of a suburb's resident enrollment.

Busing. Section II describes the busing and pupil assignment system used within MPS. Because Milwaukee has a largely segregated housing pattern, substantial busing is required.

The busing program proportionately requires twice as many blacks to be bused as whites. In some earlier years, an even greater ratio of blacks were bused.

In many (at least 20) black neighborhoods, lack of neighborhood school space requires the majority of children to be bused.

From these and other primarily black neighborhoods, students are bused to 80 or more different elementary schools. This is necessary to achieve statistical "racial balance" goals.

Rising costs associated primarily with busing and administration have reduced significantly the share of MPS' budget used for instruction. In inflation-adjusted terms, the instructional budget has declined slightly since 1976.

RESULTS

Sections III and IV review outcomes of the financial investment and busing program.

Racial Integration.

Within MPS, racial integration occurs at 112 of 138 schools.

In suburban schools, minority enrollment is 10.5%, compared with a 4.4% resident minority student body. The difference is due to minority transfers from MPS through Chapter 220.

Economic Segregation.

The pupil assignment system used to achieve racial balance has contributed to a pattern of student segregation along lines of economic class. Students from families with less income, less family stability, and less parent involvement more often attend traditional MPS schools. Students from families with greater income and stability more likely attend specialty MPS schools and suburban schools. This results from a system of formal and informal screening by schools and also reflects self-selection by more informed parents.

Academic Achievement

The integration program has been in effect since 1976. Many children in first grade then were part of the high school Class of 1988. This study assembled a substantial data base to measure results.

Seventy-eight percent of black MPS students attend traditional, non-specialty MPS schools. In 1988, at the 10 integrated traditional high schools:

> Average grades for black students were D to D+.
>
> Between 26% and 43% of black grades were F.
>
> The percent of blacks exceeding national test averages ranged from 8% to 21%.
>
> Significant gaps existed in black and white achievement; in some cases the gap is closed in part because of declining white achievement, compared to 1984.

Twenty-two percent of black MPS students attend city specialty schools or suburban schools. Their average level of academic achievement exceeds that of blacks in traditional MPS schools. Significant gaps in black-white achievement also exist in specialty and suburban schools.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Section V discusses program accountability.

Beginning in 1979, several studies have raised questions about program financing and effectiveness.

Nevertheless, thirteen years after the Reynolds decision and enactment of Chapter 220, neither the Department of Public Instruction, nor MPS, nor suburban districts have conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the costs and outcomes of the racial integration program.

7

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

1. Racial integration has occurred within most MPS schools and has increased significantly in suburban districts. Many students who otherwise might have been denied the choice have been able to attend a racially balanced school.

2. In the main, however, racial integration in Milwaukee has not reflected the principles associated with the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case. As implemented, racial integration has:

> Failed as a strategy for increasing academic achievement of black students.
>
> Substituted a system of segregation by economic class for one based on race.
>
> Prevented other strategies from being used which would have greater probability of increasing academic achievement. These include programs based on increased parent/community involvement, school-based autonomy, and higher expectations for students.
>
> Placed an inequitable and discriminatory transportation burden on black families, reflecting a conscious policy to minimize white opposition to busing.

3. The overall result is a new, dual system of schools. It is a system of traditional schools, on one hand, and specialty and suburban schools on the other. Many students at the traditional schools face two obstacles: a difficult environment at home and at school a climate of low expectations that is not conducive to high achievement.

4. Significant portions of the state-financed program involve mandatory busing. This contradicts the the State Legislature's Chapter 220 policy of promoting and paying for transfers "where students and parents desire such transfer..."

5. More than $1.8 billion in state funds, including $334.9 million in Chapter 220 aid, has been committed by taxpayers statewide since the integration program began. Officials have not been accountable for results.

> Most suburban districts have not compiled information measuring the academic achievement of Chapter 220 transfer students. In 1988-89 alone, these districts will receive $17.3 million in state Chapter 220 aid.
>
> To reduce the probability of Chapter 220 evaluation, legislative leaders removed program costs from the published schedule of state budget appropriations. It is the third largest form of state school aid; many smaller appropriations are published.

6. A decline in white student enrollment continues within MPS. A 1987 survey indicates a significant number of families, probably white, with children are moving from Milwaukee because of school concerns. Occurring several years after integration started, this may reflect educational concerns more than so-called "white flight."

RECOMMENDATIONS -- Section VI discusses proposed program changes.

SECTION I

THE FINANCIAL INVESTMENT

When the integration program began, MPS officials and proponents said its success depended in part on two financial requirements:

> -**More spending** to: (a) finance busing; (b) help pay for improvements in educational programming; and (c) provide suburbs with financial incentives to accept minority students from MPS.
>
> -**New dollars primarily from the State of Wisconsin,** because: (a) education is a state-local responsibility; and (b) MPS did not believe it feasible or appropriate to increase property taxes substantially.

In sum, MPS said it needed more money, preferably from taxes levied by the Governor and Legislature. This has been a consistent MPS policy.

This section summarizes the response to these financial expectations.

Summary of Principal Findings and Conclusions

Spending increased. Per pupil spending in MPS grew 190% in 1976-88, a period when inflation grew 114%.

MPS received more state dollars. During 1976-88, state aid grew 278%. This allowed MPS school property taxes to decline, in inflation-adjusted terms. State aid to other Wisconsin districts grew 150%.

MPS relied less on property taxes. Between 1976 and 1988, property taxes as a share of the MPS budget declined to 38% from 59%. State aid as a share of the MPS budget grew to 54% from 31%.

Through 1988-89, the state provided $79.9 million to encourage suburban district participation. This included $8.6 million in "bonuses" for districts with minority transfer enrollments in excess of 5%.

The state provided funds to MPS to pay for transportation costs and to help start new education programs. Through 1988-89, MPS received $255 million in Chapter 220 aid to cover busing costs of about $143.5 million and costs of educating suburban transfer students of $14.1, leaving a $97.4 million surplus.

Since 1988, local districts have allocated Chapter 220 funds to a Chapter 220 Coordinating Council, created by the 1987 integration lawsuit Settlement Agreement.

> **-The Council approved initial spending and staffing levels substantially exceeding the provisions of the Settlement Agreement.**

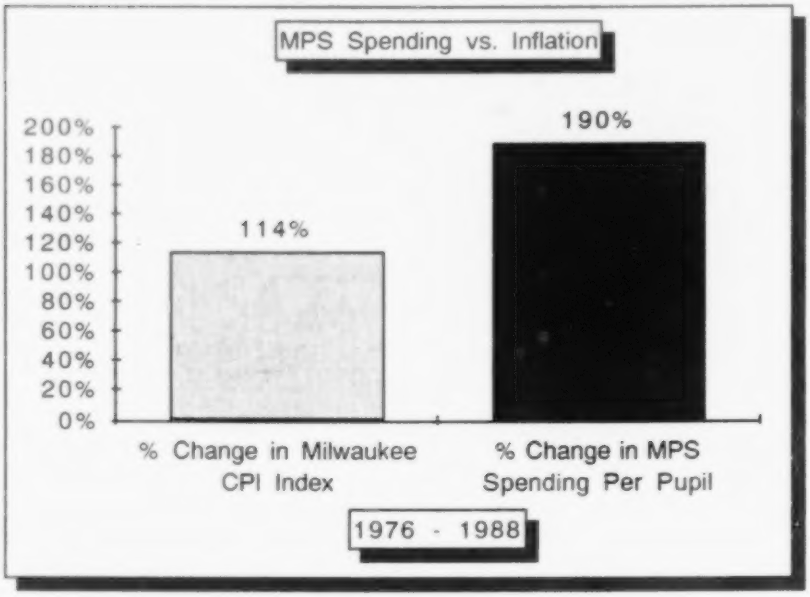
-The Council set salaries for its professional staff which exceed the average salaries of superintendents and principals in metropolitan Milwaukee school districts.

-The salary of the employe who deals most directly with students and parents is $20,000.

PART A. PER PUPIL EXPENDITURES

In 1975-76, the year before the integration program began, the per pupil budget in MPS was $1,846. Twelve years later, in 1987-88, per pupil spending had risen 190%, to $5,351. During the same period, inflation in Milwaukee increased 114%, measured by the U.S. Consumer Price Index for Milwaukee.

Chart I-1



Sources:

Inflation. CPI for Milwaukee Urban Consumers (1976 = 167.1; 1988 = 358), from Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce per U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Per Pupil Spending. Based on total expenditures, from MPS annual financial reports, divided by "actual headcount enrollments" (less transfers to suburbs), from 1987-88 School/Student Statistical Profile.

Chart I-2 shows actual spending per pupil in 1988 compared to 1976. It also shows what spending would have been in 1988 if adjusted only for inflation.

Chart I-2

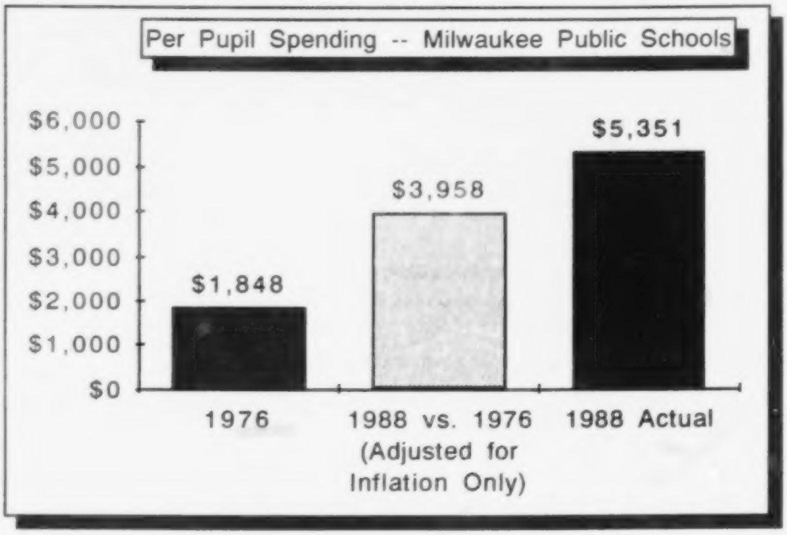
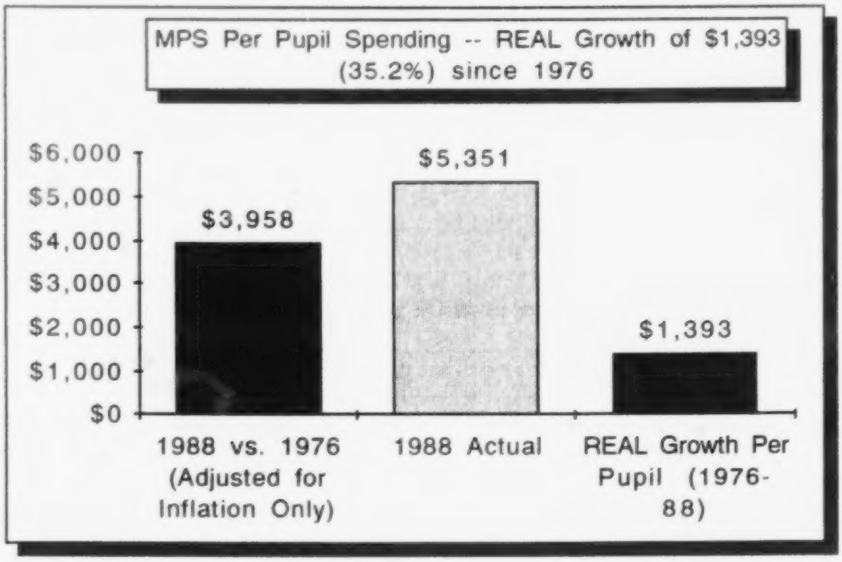


Chart I-3 shows actual 1988 per pupil spending was $1,393 higher than the inflation-adjusted 1976 spending level. This represents a real spending increase per pupil of 35.2%.

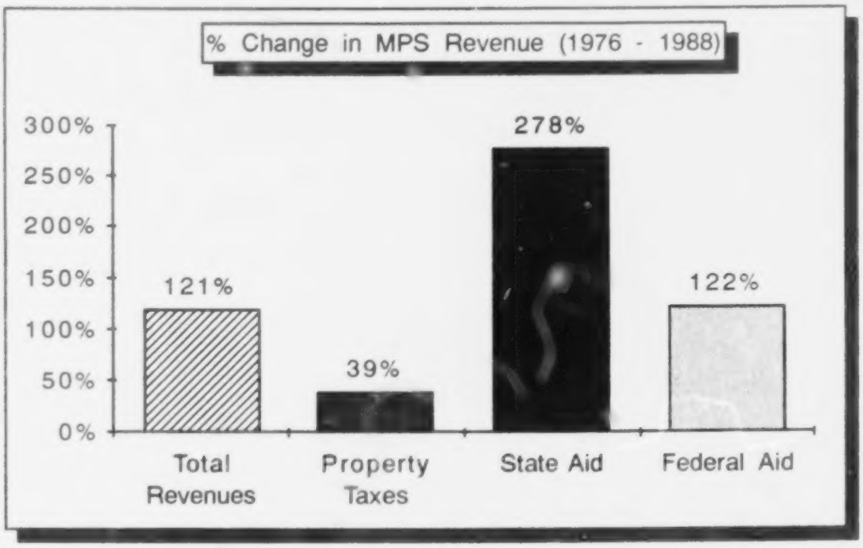
Chart I-3



PART B. STATE AID

MPS has three main revenue sources: property taxes, state aid, and federal aid. Chart I-4 shows that between 1976 and 1988, total revenues grew 121%. The relative growth of revenue sources ranged from 39% for property taxes to 278% for state aid. The rate of inflation (114%) was nearly three times greater than property tax growth. Real property taxes for schools thus declined.

Chart I-4

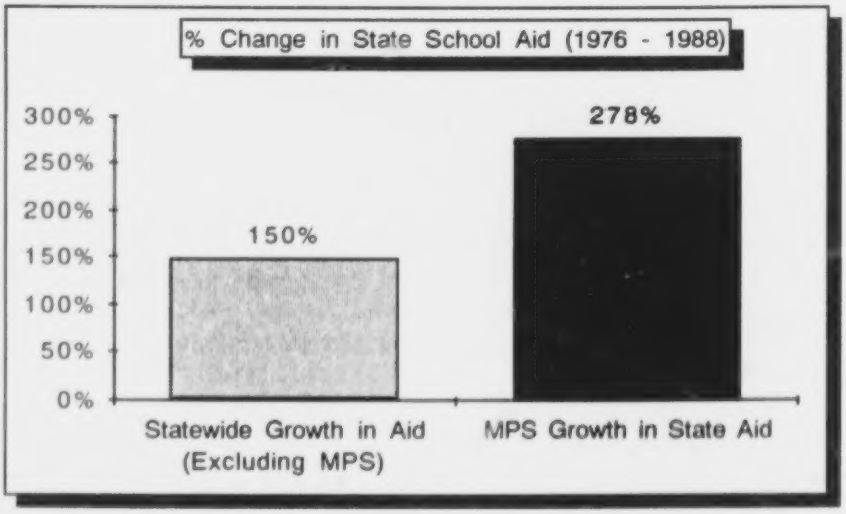


Sources:

Various tables, including "Statements of Revenue and Expenditures and Encumbrances" and "General District Revenue by Source," from MPS annual financial reports and 1987-88 School/Student Statistical Profile.

The state also has increased its commitment to finance local school districts throughout Wisconsin. Chart I-5 shows its commitment to MPS has grown faster.

Chart I-5



Sources: Legislative Fiscal Bureau and DPI -- State aid excluding MPS went from $490 million to $1,226 million; state aid to MPS went from $67.6 million to $255.8 million.

PART C. REDUCED RELIANCE ON THE PROPERTY TAX

Charts I-6,7,8 show that the increase in state aid and stability in federal aid resulted in a substantial reduction in MPS reliance on property taxes. (During the time state aids were growing, MPS sued the state claiming aids were insufficient. The Supreme Court ruled against the suit.)

Chart I-6

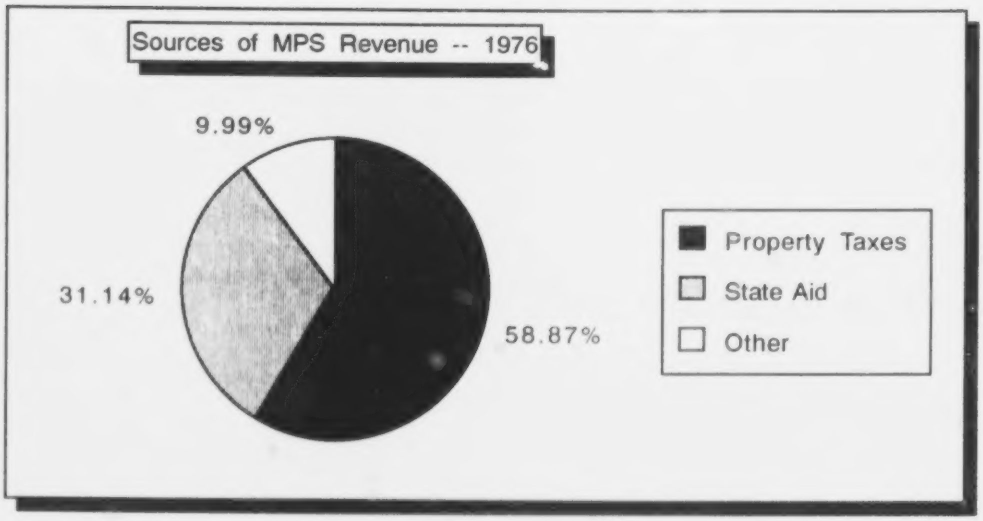


Chart I-7

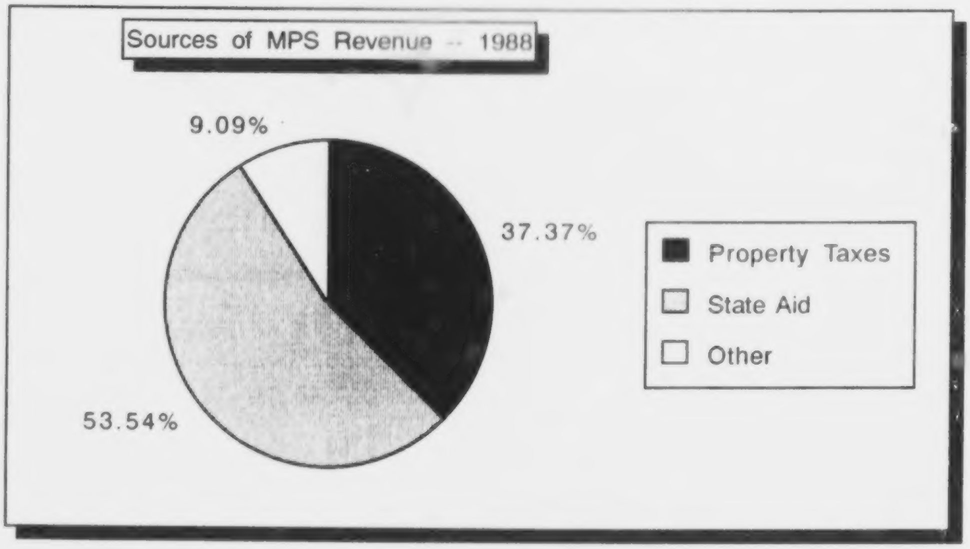
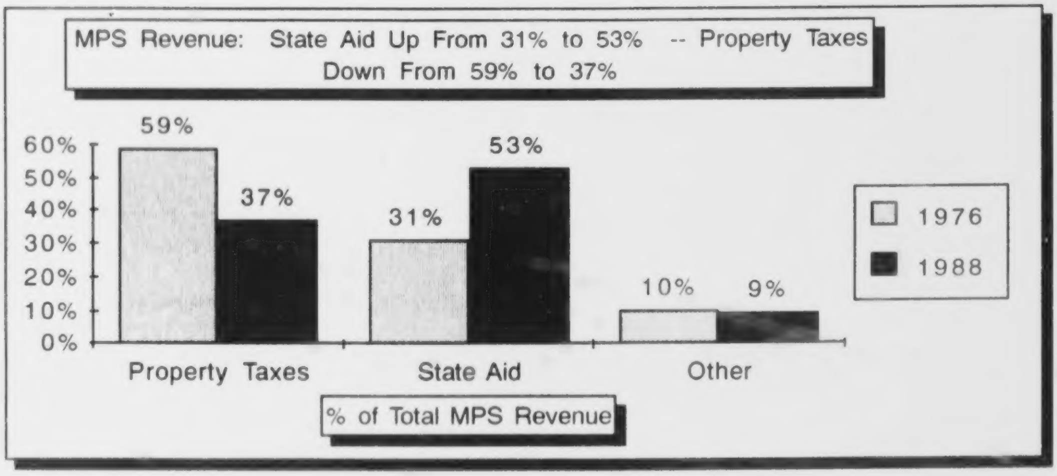


Chart I-8



Sources:

MPS annual financial reports and 1987-88 School/Student Statistical Profile.

PART D. CHAPTER 220 FINANCIAL GOALS:

-ENCOURAGE SUBURBAN ACCEPTANCE OF MPS TRANSFERS

-PAY BUSING COSTS

-HELP FINANCE MPS PROGRAMS

A portion of the increased state aid came from the Chapter 220 program, enacted in 1976, three months after a federal court ruled that MPS was unlawfully segregated. Five months later, in September 1976, implementation of the integration program began.

The Legislature set the following objectives:

> "...it is the announced policy of the state to facilitate the transfer of students between schools and between school districts to promote cultural and racial integration in education **where students and parents desire such transfer** and where schools and school districts determine that such transfers serve educational interests. The state further declares that it is a proper state expense to encourage such transfers through the provision of special aids." (emphasis added)

The state made its first Chapter 220 expenditures in 1976-77. Through 1988-89, total estimated state Chapter 220 expenditures are $368.2 million. Table I-1 shows recipients of these aids are:

Table I-1

Milwaukee Public Schools	$ 255.0 million
Suburban Milwaukee School Districts	79.9 million
Milwaukee area subtotal	$ 334.9 million
Non-Milwaukee Area School Districts (Racine, Madison, Beloit)	33.3 million
TOTAL	$ 368.2 million

The discussion below focuses on funds spent in Milwaukee and Milwaukee suburbs.

The accounting for and explanation of Chapter 220 expenditures are complicated by several factors:

-The state budget does not identify the cost of the program; instead, the program cost is included in the largest statewide school aid appropriation. This is done to insulate the program from scrutiny.

-Chapter 220 funds are used for several purposes; the allocation of total program costs among these purposes is subject to differing interpretations.

Table I-2 summarizes Chapter 220 finances. Total costs include MPS and DPI estimates for 1989. See the explanatory discussion following the table.

Table I-2

Chapter 220 Program Costs 1977-1989
$ Millions
RECIPIENTS OF CHAPTER 220 AID

USES OF CH. 220 AID	MPS	Milwaukee Suburbs	Non-Milwaukee	Total
BUSING:				
INTRA	$ 98.7	n/a	see below	$ 98.7
INTER	44.8	0.2	n/a	45.0
BASIC AID	14.1	68.9	n/a	83.0
BONUS AID	n/a	8.6	n/a	8.6
MILWAUKEE SENDER AID & SURPLUS	97.4	n/a	n/a	97.4
NICOLET COUNSELOR	n/a	0.2	n/a	0.2
SUBURBAN SENDER AID	n/a	2.0	n/a	2.0
CHAPTER 220 COORDINATING COUNCIL	-- see narrative below --			
RACINE	n/a	n/a	30.2	30.2
MADISON	n/a	n/a	2.9	2.9
BELOIT	n/a	n/a	0.2	0.2
TOTALS	**$255.0**	**$ 79.9**	**$ 33.3**	**$368.2**

Sources:

Busing Costs. For 1977-79, DPI reimbursement for transportation costs are used; for 1980-89, MPS actual and estimated busing costs are used.

Basic and Bonus Aid. MPS and DPI reports, including estimates for 1989.

Sender Aid. MPS, and author's estimate.

Nicolet Counselor. DPI & Nicolet.

Milwaukee Sender Aid & Surplus. Amount MPS receives which is not tied by legislative intent to a specific purpose. It is derived as follows: total Chapter 220 aid to MPS ($255.0 million) minus costs for busing ($143.5 million) and basic aid allocated for education of suburban transfers ($14.1 million). Total aid to MPS includes actual aid for 1977-88 and estimated aid for 1989.

Racine, Madison, Beloit. DPI.

The description below reviews the purposes and types of costs shown in Table I-2.

BUSING. This is the largest program expenditure. There are two busing costs: **intra**-district (within Milwaukee) and **inter**-district (between Milwaukee and suburbs). MPS is responsible for intra- and inter-district busing; it uses Chapter 220 funds for these costs. In the last two years, the portion of Chapter 220 funds intended for inter-district busing costs have been insufficient. Because of this, in 1988 and 1989 MPS said it has used some Chapter 220 sender aid for busing.

BASIC AID. This is aid paid to a district that accepts transfers from another district. The amount equals the receiving district's average cost per pupil, as defined by the state. For most districts, this aid exceeds the new costs of accepting transfer students. Stated another way, if suburbs and MPS stopped accepting transfers, state aid losses would exceed local cost reductions.

BONUS AID. This is paid to suburbs if they accept minority transfers from MPS greater than 5% of their resident student population. The bonus equals 20% of Basic Aid for all pupils below and above 5%. Bonus aid, combined with the favorable Basic Aid payments, make Chapter 220 attractive financially to suburban districts. Chapter 220 payments exceed 10% of several suburban budgets.

MPS receives no bonus for accepting suburban white transfers.

SENDER AID. To calculate state aid eligibility, school districts can count resident pupils who transfer to another district through Chapter 220. Most suburbs are property-rich and thus don't get state aid; sender aid is insignificant to them. MPS, however, is property-poor and gets considerable state aid. It benefits substantially from sender aid, because more than 4,000 of its students transfer to suburban districts. This year, MPS estimates it will receive more than $9 million in sender aid for MPS students educated in suburban districts.

OTHER SURPLUS FUNDS FOR MILWAUKEE. When Chapter 220 began, it was understood generally that MPS was to receive more money than necessary for busing costs and costs of educating suburban transfer students. MPS expected to use these surplus funds for new educational programming. During the program, MPS has received $97.4 million in surplus funds, including $29.9 million in sender aid. See Table I-4 below.

MPS used these funds in part to start and operate specialty schools (See Sections II and III). However, MPS' Chapter 220 surplus has declined significantly, as more aid is required for rising costs of intra- and inter-district busing. In 1988 and 1989, the portion of state aid for busing did not cover busing costs. See Table II-2, Section II. This required use of some sender aid.

MPS CHAPTER 220 REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES. From 1977 through 1989, estimated Chapter 220 payments to MPS and suburban Milwaukee districts totalled $334.9 million. Of this, MPS received $255 million, or 76%.

Tables I-3 and I-4 depict MPS sources and estimated uses of Chapter 220 aid.

Table I-3

1977-1989

($millions)

SOURCES OF MPS CHAPTER 220 AID	
BASIC AID	$ 14.1
SENDER AID	29.9
"INTRA"AND "INTER" TRANSFER AID, BASED ON PUPILS TRANSFERRED W/IN MPS & CITY-SUBURB BUSING COSTS	211.0
TOTAL	**$255.0**

Sources:

Basic Aid. MPS and DPI

Sender Aid. MPS

Transfer Aid. Intra- and inter-district transfer aid for 1977/88 from DPI; 1989 aid number from MPS

Table I-4

1977-1989

($millions)

USES OF MPS CHAPTER 220 AID

BUSING	
-W/IN MILWAUKEE	$ 98.7
-CITY-SUBURBAN	44.8
-TOTAL BUSING	143.5 (56.3%)
AMOUNT ALLOCATED TO EDUCATE TRANSFER STUDENTS FROM SUBURBS	14.1 (5.5%)
SURPLUS FUNDS (IN EXCESS OF BUSING & CITY-SUBURBAN EDUCATION AIDS)	97.4 (38.2%)
TOTAL	**$255.0**

Sources:

Busing within Milwaukee. For 1977-79, from DPI based on "intra" transportation payments to MPS; for 1980-89, from MPS based on actual and estimated expenditures.

City/suburban busing. For 1977-79 from DPI, based on state "inter" busing reimbursement; for 1980-89 from MPS.

Amount allocated to educate suburban transfer students. Amount equals Basic Aid, from DPI and MPS reports.

Surplus. Difference between total Chapter 220 aid to MPS and costs identified above.

OTHER PROGRAM COSTS. Table I-2 includes other expenses:

Suburban busing costs. Early in the program, some suburbs were reimbursed $248,496 for transportation costs. Now, only MPS receives aid intended to pay 220 busing costs.

"Multiethnic Counselor" at Nicolet. From 1979 through 1984, Nicolet Union High School District applied for and received $183,714 to finance a "multi-ethnic counselor" program. During the same period, Nicolet also received about $1.8 million in Basic Aid and $330,000 in Bonus Aid.

The statutory provision used to justify state payment for this program says:

> "If a school district finds that it has incurred costs beyond [Basic and Bonus] aids [and]....If the Department [of Public Instruction] finds that the school district has incurred costs for which reimbursement has not been made [under Basic or Bonus aid], it shall supplement the [Chapter 220] aids paid to the district...."

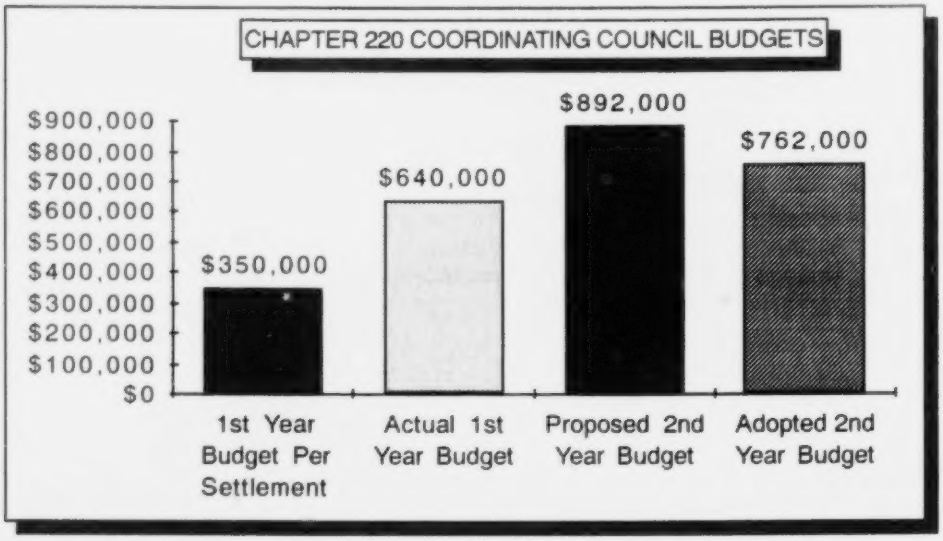
In 1983, DPI Superintendent Herbert Grover approved Nicolet's 1983-84 request for supplemental funds. In his approval letter, Grover praised the program but told Nicolet future supplemental funding would not be provided. As to whether the program justified state aid in addition to Basic and Bonus aid, Grover said, "...it has been felt that there has always been some question of Chapter 220 support for this specific position...it is now time for [Nicolet] to financially invest in this position." The district has maintained the program. In part as a result, it provides the most comprehensive ongoing information about Chapter 220 activities of any suburban district.

The Chapter 220 Coordinating Council. The 1987 lawsuit Settlement Agreement provided for a Coordinating Council with authority to hire staff, appoint committees, and establish an office. The Council consists of 46 members, equally divided into city and suburban delegations. The council staff is called the Compact for Educational Opportunity (CEO).

The Settlement Agreement limited the Council to a specific set of activities and to an initial budget of $350,000.

Chart I-9 shows: the budget specified in the Settlement Agreement; the actual first year budget adopted by the Council; the second year budget proposed by the Council's Director; and the second year budget eventually adopted.

Chart I-9



For this study, the CEO Director was asked why the first year budget exceeded the Settlement Agreement limit by 83%. He said $350,000 "was determined to be insufficient..."

Separately, the Operations Committee Chair, in a memo to Council members, stated: "The $350,000 figure, everyone agrees, was an arbitrary figure."

City and suburban delegations share Council staff costs equally. The real cost is higher than the approved budget. Superintendents and senior district staff spend substantial time on Council activities. Comments by some suburban superintendents establish that many are not yet satisfied with results. During budget meetings this spring, CEO staff said it would be in a "start-up mode of operations" for another six months.

A February 1989 MPS report on Chapter 220 stated:

> "During the course of the first 18 months of operation of the [Coordinating] council, the Council focused its efforts on hiring the Executive Director, staff and developing internal management policies. To date, the functions prescribed in the Agreement that were intended to assist parents and students in the Chapter 220 process, as well as promoting the interdistrict transfer program, have not been implemented."
>
> (Chapter 220 Report for 1987-88 and 1988-89, Milwaukee Public Schools)

The Settlement Agreement called for four initial staff: a director, an assistant director, a clerical employee, and an ombudsperson to address parent and student concerns. The Council hired an initial staff of eight employees, including:

-A director.

-Three managers for:

1) Student and Parent Services

2) Staff Services

3) Support Services

-Three secretaries.

-A halftime ombudsperson who was later increased to
two-thirds time.

The Director's proposed second year budget included four new employes, in addition to the eight. This request was not approved.

The Council, at the Director's recommendation, set the following salaries for managers:

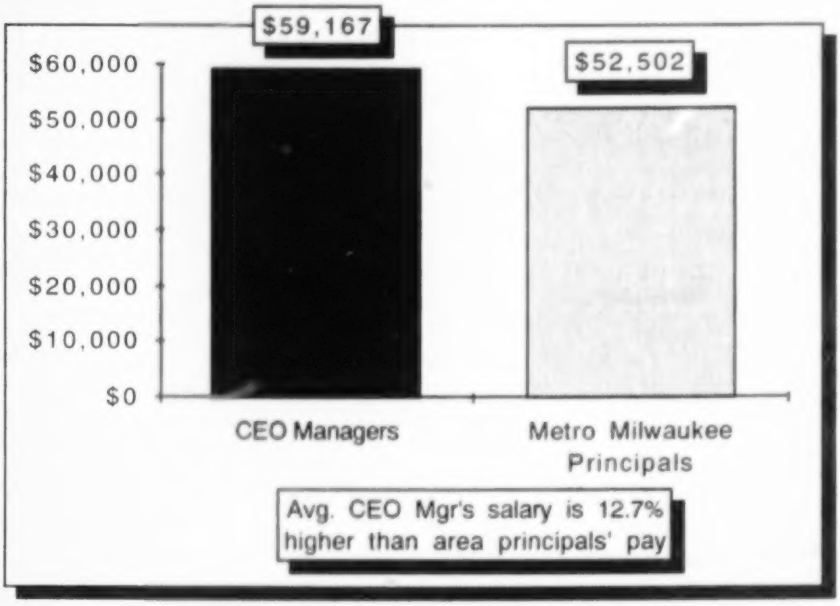
Table I-5

Manager of Staff Services	$ 67,500
Manager of Student and Parent Services	60,000
Manager of Support Services	50,000
Average Manager Salary	**59,167**

The managers supervise no professional staff. Occasionally they direct the work of outside consultants.

Chart I-10 compares the average salary of CEO managers with the average salary of principals in MPS and the 23 suburban districts participating in Chapter 220.

Chart I-10



Avg. CEO Mgr's salary is 12.7% higher than area principals' pay

Source: Principals' salaries provided by 24 suburban districts responding to a survey for this study.

The Settlement Agreement specified an initial $20,000 salary for the "initial" ombudsperson but did not specify other salaries.

The Director's taxable and tax-deferred compensation is about $88,800 a year. It exceeds that of most Milwaukee area school superintendents.

In addition to a base salary of $75,000, the Director's benefits include:

-A $9,000 annual tax-deferred annuity;

-A $4,800 annual car allowance;

-Annual paid leave of 12 days, during which the Director may perform consulting duties for others and still receive his salary;

-Three weeks paid annual vacation;

-Family hospital, surgical, major medical, and dental insurance;

-Long term disability insurance;

-A term life insurance policy of $75,000;

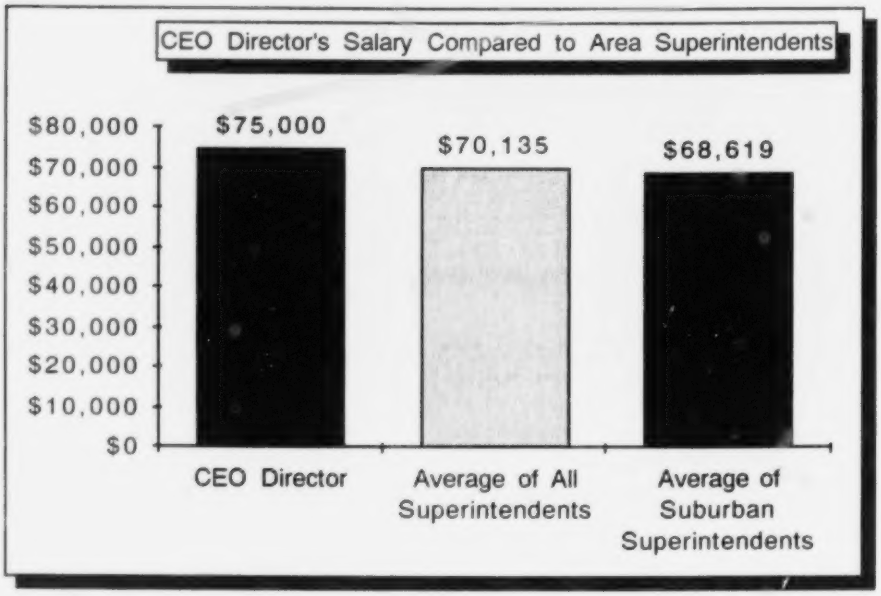
-An initial bank of 60 sick leave days, accumulating to as much as 120 days during the term of the contract (including renewals); and

-Termination benefits equal to pay for one-half of accumulated sick leave days.

Fringe benefits other than the salary, car allowance, and deferred compensation have an annual cost of about $15,000, a figure derived from published Council budget information.

Using only the base salary, Chart I-11 compares the Director's pay with Milwaukee area superintendents.

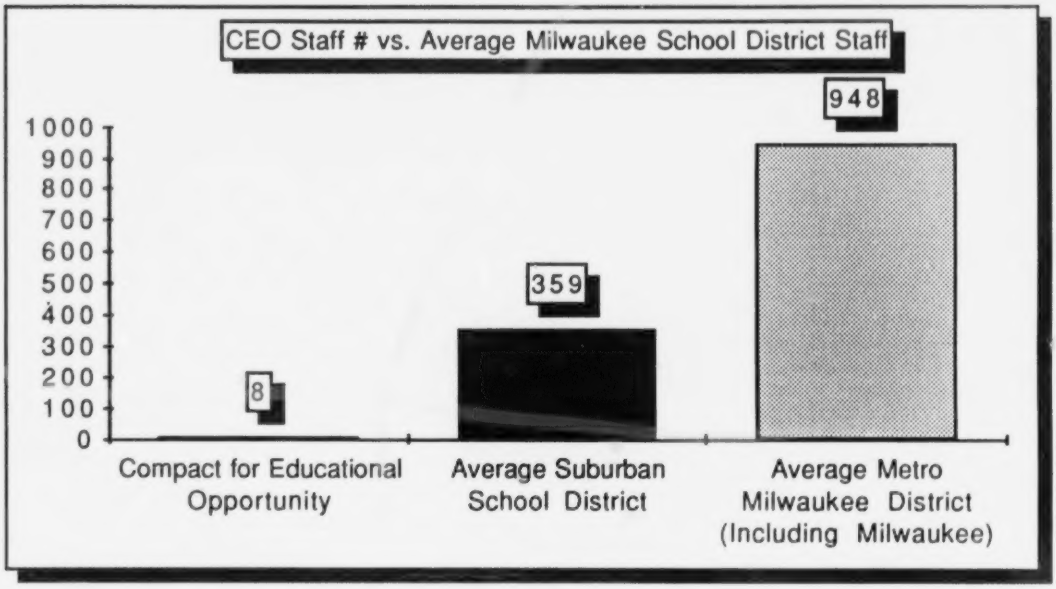
Chart I-11



Source: Superintendents' salaries from survey of 24 districts conducted for this study.

The Director's and Managers' salaries appear considerable not only in relation to principals' and superintendents', but also in relation to size of staff and management duties. Chart I-12 compares the number of CEO employees with the average number of employes in Milwaukee area school districts.

Chart I-12



Source: School district employment data provided by 24 districts in response to survey conducted for this study.

The Council and its staff interpreted initial budget and staffing provisions of the Settlement Agreement to be "insufficient" and "arbitrary" and thus exceeded those provisions. On the other hand, they have so far strictly interpreted the salary of $20,000 for the ombudsperson. This was less than established by the Director for his executive secretary ($24,000) and slightly more than set for the other two clerical staff ($18,500).

The current ombudsperson succeeded the initial occupant of the position. Several Council members believe the salary is too low for the employee who deals most directly with student and parent problems. However, as of early June the Council and staff have cited the Settlement Agreement as the basis for the salary.

PART E. LAWSUIT EXPENDITURES

The financial history of the integration program in Milwaukee includes two lawsuits.

A lawsuit filed in the 1960s against MPS culminated in the 1976 Reynolds decision and subsequent rulings which led to the integration program. MPS said legal bills for its defense were $880,000.

In 1984, MPS sued 23 metropolitan suburban districts. Initially, it sought metropolitan redistricting as the remedy for what it termed insufficient school integration. Ultimately, in 1987, the parties submitted a settlement to the Federal Court which relied primarily on expanding city-suburban integration through Chapter 220. No boundaries were changed. The suit coincided with a period of significant growth in city-suburban transfers. See Section IV.

The cost of legal and expert witness fees for the 1984-87 period included $6.3 million for MPS local and national lawyers. An effort to determine a list of expert witness fees for MPS was not successful.

A survey of the 23 suburban districts for this study is incomplete: fourteen districts responded. Legal bills averaged $309,000 per district for 13 of the 14. The 14th, West Allis-West Milwaukee, one of the poorest suburban districts, had a bill of more than $1.5 million, paid mostly by insurance. The state was a defendant as well. Its legal fees through the Attorney General were not determined for this study. The state, which shared in the cost of suburban expert witness fees, provided a list of such fees and recipients.

PART F. CONCLUSION

This section has:

-described the 35.2% real increase in MPS per pupil spending since the integration program began;

-described the 278% increase in state aid, which allowed a real (inflation-adjusted) decline in MPS school property taxes; and

-described the $334.9 million in state Chapter 220 aid provided to: pay for integration busing; provide financial incentives for suburban participation; and enable MPS to finance new educational programs.

The financial investments responded to what MPS said were financial needs necessary to implement successfully the integration program and increase academic achievement.

Sections II, III, and IV review the outcomes of this financial investment.

-Section II describes the busing and pupil assignment program.

-Section III reviews academic achievement in MPS specialty and regular schools, the **intra**district portion of Chapter 220.

-Section IV reviews academic achievement under the city-suburban exchange program, the **inter**district portion of Chapter 220.

-Section V discusses problems of accountability surrounding the program.

This Section also has reviewed financing of the Coordinating Council and CEO staff. Other aspects of the Council are reviewed in Section V. The Council and CEO operate without a clear mission or financial accountability. The result has been unproductive.

SECTION II

BUSING

When school integration began, Milwaukee and the metropolitan region had a highly segregated housing pattern. This remains so. Thus, mandatory school integration requires substantial busing of students.

This Section reviews the development and implementation of the busing program.

Summary of Principal Findings & Conclusions

The busing program was designed to minimize white concerns about integration and reduce "white flight." The program places greater demands on black families than white families, as measured by:

-numbers and percentages of children bused; and

-school options available to those who are bused.

The busing pattern, particularly for black children, works against individual parent involvement and neighborhood support for schools.

-This can be counterproductive to increased academic achievement.

-Unless the pupil assignment system is changed, the new MPS Service Delivery Areas might worsen the problem.

State payments for busing for desegregation have provided a financial reason for MPS to bus more children rather than fewer. MPS wants to expand this to include busing which does not desegregate.

Growing busing costs cut the amount of Chapter 220 aid for education and reduce the percent of MPS' budget used for instruction.

Definitions

Attendance Area. Most elementary schools have a defined geographical "attendance area." Groups of elementary attendance areas form larger middle school attendance areas. Middle school attendance areas form high school attendance areas.

Enhance racial balance. Most pupil assignments to MPS schools are controlled by whether or not they "enhance racial balance," that is, whether they contribute to a racial makeup in the school of more than 25% but less than 65% black.

Sideways busing. Busing from a predominantly white or black attendance area to another predominantly white or black attendance area.

Specialty School or Magnet School. As part of the integration program, MPS set up certain elementary, middle, and high schools as citywide specialty schools. These schools do not have a neighborhood attendance area.

Intra and **Inter** district busing. Transfers of students within MPS are intradistrict transfers. Transfers between MPS and suburban districts are interdistrict transfers. This section deals mostly with intradistrict transfers.

Service Delivery Areas. There are six such areas, each with an approximately equal number of MPS elementary, middle, and high schools. This new MPS system of administering the schools begins in July 1989.

Data Base

This Section uses several sources of information.

-Information on busing patterns was developed from MPS "Sending" and "Receiving" school reports. They itemize, by attendance area, the number and racial breakdown of children and where they attend school. This was supplemented by a report, "Choice in the Milwaukee Public School System," issued in May 1989, by State Representative Annette Williams.

-Maps of MPS School Board district boundaries were derived from maps supplied by MPS, as are maps which locate individual schools and identify the Service Delivery Areas.

-Information regarding current and historical busing costs was developed from MPS financial reports. Amounts of state aid for busing, and methods used to compute the aid, were provided by the State Department of Public Instruction. The legislative history regarding the intent of state busing aid is based on reports of the Legislative Fiscal Bureau. Information also was drawn from the "Inter-District Integration Program Transportation Study" of the Compact of Educational Opportunity, May, 1989.

Other information came from:

"A Call for Review and Reform of Milwaukee's Desegregation Program," Winter, 1988, by then-mayoral candidate John Norquist.

"Milwaukee Public Schools -- 1986-87 Attendance Area/School Enrollment," issued in 1987 by the Interim Steering Committee of the New North Division School District.

"School Desegregation Ten Years Later -- Why It Failed," Milwaukee Magazine, September, 1986.

"The Impact of the Milwaukee Public School System's Desegregation Plan on Black Students and the Black Community (1976-1982)," a doctoral thesis by Dr. Howard Fuller, May, 1985.

"1986-1996 School Building & Sites Plan," presented to the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, May, 1986, The School Building and Sites Commission.

"Student Assignment Information -- 1989-90" and "Enrollment Procedures - April 24 through June 16," both prepared by the MPS Division of School Services.

PART A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUSING PROGRAM AND ITS IMPACT ON BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS

Chronology: Implementation of the integration program began in the fall of 1976. This followed (a) determination by Federal Judge John Reynolds that MPS was illegally segregated and (b) subsequent enactment by the Wisconsin Legislature of Chapter 220, the state law which finances integration.

Two MPS goals set at the start of the program influenced it greatly. The results remain evident today.

-the effort to favor white neighborhoods and parents;

-the goal of having state taxpayers finance all busing costs.

The White "Tilt"

A 1976 document issued by MPS contained the following (see Fuller thesis, p. 147-150):

> In assigning pupils "...preference will be given to the current residential population in attending an attendance area school when that population can be accommodated under racial balance requirements..."

This was the basis for a program in which black children disproportionately were bused from their neighborhood in comparison to whites. Why did it have this effect? Because in the years before the integration ruling, MPS built more than 75% of its new schools in white neighborhoods. During much of that time, the white school population was **declining** and the black population was **increasing**. This resulted in black attendance areas with significantly more pupils than could be accommodated in neighborhood schools, while white attendance areas had many empty seats.

Thus, while the stated policy appeared to have a neighborhood orientation, it really had a white neighborhood orientation. This reflected the MPS priority of minimizing white apprehension over integration and reducing the perceived threat of "white flight." The tenor of MPS' policy is illustrated by this excerpt from the same document quoted above:

> "...the psychological guarantee of not having to attend a school that is predominantly minority will tend to stabilize the population in the city."

This concept had credibility in the educational establishment beyond MPS. In a 1977 article about the **inter**district aspects of Chapter 220, UW-Milwaukee Education Professor William Kritek writes of the "optimum percentage of minority students in a desegregated school." He cites education author Nancy St. John as saying such a percentage is between 15% and 20% because:

30

> "On the one hand, 15 per cent is a minimum if the minority group is to have sufficient numbers to exert pressure without constituting a power threat to the majority. On the other hand [now quoting St. John], 'as long as the proportion of black pupils is small [under 20 per cent] and expected to remain so, there is no reason for white pupils to experience stigma, relative deprivation, social threat, marginality, or a change in norms, standards, or the expectations of their significant others'."
>
> "Voluntary Desegregation in Wisconsin," Integrated Education, Nov./Dec., 1977.

The result of these concerns was a policy governed by the following considerations:

-Most integration was to occur by dispersing central city blacks to vacant seats in white neighborhood schools throughout the city.

-If whites were bused, it would be primarily to **other** white neighborhoods.

-If whites were bused to the central city, it would be primarily to citywide specialty schools. For several years, admission to these schools was disproportionately white. There was substantial ability and behavior screening associated with admission to these schools. Many of these schools formerly were black neighborhood schools; their conversion to specialty school status thus increased the number of blacks who were bused out of their neighborhood.

Table II-1 illustrates this. From 1979 through 1982, it shows the percent of black and white students bused to desegregate, to attend a specialty school, or "sideways," that is, from one black neighborhood to another or one white neighborhood to another.

Table II-1

Year	Race	% Bused To Desegregate	% Bused To Specialty Schools	% Bused Sideways
1979	Black	80	7	13
	White	35	21	44
1980	Black	78	14	8
	White	22	38	41
1981	Black	77	16	8
	White	19	39	42
1982	Black	77	15	8
	White	16	39	45

Source: Table 38, p. 152, Fuller thesis

Table II-1 illustrates the disproportionate impact of busing on black and white students. By 1982:

- more than four of five white movements were to a specialty school or to another white neighborhood school.

- nearly four of five black movements were from a black neighborhood school to a predominantly white attendance area.

- proportionately, more than twice as many whites as blacks moved to specialty schools.

Other data from Fuller show the disproportionate number of blacks who were moved from their own attendance area to enhance racial balance.

- In 1980, blacks represented 50% of elementary students; whites were 40%. Yet, the ratio of blacks to whites bused was nearly **four to one.**

- The numbers are more striking at middle schools: in 1982 blacks were 54% of middle school enrollment; whites were 38%. **Yet nine times as many blacks as whites were bused to enhance racial balance.**

The condition persists: the 1988-89 ratio is about 2:1, systemwide. (Source: "Choice in the Milwaukee Public School System," Rep. Polly Williams, May 1989.)

Then MPS Superintendent Lee McMurrin interpreted this program positively. He stated:

> "...over a period of years [MPS] had concentrated black students in a set of schools which were overcrowded...[the busing program] meant that black students were able to go to newer outlying schools with free transportation provided and white students were attracted to newly established specialty schools in the older part of the city close to the black student population." (Letter to State Auditor Dale Cattanach, November 16, 1984.)

McMurrin dismissed complaints about this system, sometimes accusing critics of racial motives. The effectiveness of this tactic was diminished as the problem became clearer to a cross-section of the community. In May 1986, a blue ribbon School Building and Sites Commission issued its report to Superintendent McMurrin. The multi-racial and multi-ethnic Commission of prominent community leaders recommended: **"In all future school building planning, high priority [should] be given to equity in movement of children for racial balance."**

State Financing of MPS Busing

The financial components of the Chapter 220 program have three main purposes:

- to finance busing for integration **within** Milwaukee and **between** MPS and the suburbs;

- to give suburbs substantial financial incentives to accept minority students; and

-to give MPS money, in addition to busing costs, to help finance programs such as specialty schools.

Chapter 220 was enacted with several different fiscal components and incentives, some intended, some perhaps not. One incentive provided a motive for MPS to bus as many students as possible by increasing state aid for each student bused for racial balance. The more pupils MPS bused, the more aid it received. The initial bonus, on a per pupil basis, was 20%. This was increased to 32.5% in 1979, with the intent of paying intra- and inter-district busing costs. ("School Integration [Chapter 220] Aids," State of Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau, informational papers in January, 1987 and 1989; Roger Sundby, Director, Bureau of School Aids, State Department of Public Instruction, interview, summer, 1988.)

Table II-2 below shows that this aid substantially exceeded the actual cost of busing for several years. MPS was thus able to finance a portion of the specialty school program with new state dollars. The result surely must be considered perverse. Financial incentives provided by the state encouraged MPS to bus as many children as possible. MPS used the resulting financial surplus for specialty schools, which displaced many black children and for many years disproportionately served white students.

Table II-2 illustrates the financial history of the state's funding of intra- and inter-district busing costs, including:

Column One. School Year (1977 = 1976-77)

Column Two. State Transfer Aid to MPS for Intra- and Inter-District Busing

Column Three. MPS Cost for Intra- and Inter-District Busing

Column Four. Surplus Funds, Used for Specialty Schools and Other Education Expenses

Table II-2

BUSING AIDS

See Explanatory Notes

1 YEAR	2 TRANSFER AID	3 BUSING COST	4 SURPLUS AID
1977	$6,684,745	$ 2,850,000	$ 3,834,745
1978	11,359,074	4,914,244	6,444,830
1979	13,346,470	4,800,000	8,546,470
1980	16,446,868	7,089,513	9,357,355
1981	18,582,876	6,181,621	12,401,255
1982	16,661,167	6,583,146	10,078,021
1983	19,813,589	8,875,548	10,938,041
1984	14,087,091	8,841,898	5,245,193
1985	17,601,543	11,099,715	6,501,828
1986	17,459,604	15,456,906	2,002,698
1987	20,243,976	20,577,852	-333,876
1988	18,131,795	21,555,517	-3,423,722
1989	20,500,000	24,630,621	-4,130,621
TOTALS	$210,918,798	$143,456,581	$67,462,217

Sources:

Column 2. Actual transfer aid to MPS for 1977-88 provided by DPI; estimated transfer aid for 1989 provided by MPS

Column 3. Transportation costs for 1977-79 based on DPI records of reimbursements to MPS ; for 1980-89, costs provided by MPS

All payments to MPS in this table in addition to Chapter 220 payments for interdistrict "sender" aid, "basic" tuition aid, and "bonus" aid.

An October 1988 report noted that beginning with 1988, state transfer aid would be less than busing costs. This was due to rising busing costs and a stabilizing number of students bused to enhance racial balance, as defined by the state. ("The Rising Costs of the Chapter 220 Program in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.) In the summer of 1988, MPS said that beginning in 1988, it financed the shortfall from Chapter 220 sender aid.

To increase state busing aid and provide additional funds for educational programming, MPS has proposed legislation to eliminate the requirement that, to be eligible for state aid, busing enhance racial balance. Under this plan, most students bused would generate a 32.5% state aid bonus, **whether the busing was for desegregation or not.**

MPS obscured the impact of this proposal in an April 4 press release. The release ostensibly dealt with a program to allow 1,000 students to attend private schools. In an April 21 memo to State Schools Superintendent Herbert Grover, a DPI analyst pointed out the more significant aspect:

> "...Milwaukee proposes a dramatic change in the Chapter 220 integration program....Milwaukee's proposal would alter the program's intradistrict transfers for education by eliminating the eligibility threshold for racial balance...CHOICE, not integration, would now be the rationale for diverting $19 million [in 220 transfer aid] from other districts [throughout Wisconsin] to Milwaukee. In fact, Milwaukee could see up to a 10% increase in their [220] transfer aid if this provision were enacted...
>
> "Has integration in Milwaukee been achieved to the point where they can now redirect the intradistrict transfer aid to other purposes? Or is this proposal contrary to that objective?
>
> "If these [$19 million] are no longer needed for integration purposes, shouldn't other needs in Milwaukee, as well as throughout the rest of the state, be considered rather than simply assuming that [busing] for reasons of personal preference are an objective for which the state should spend $19 million?"
>
> ("MPS Choice," April 21, 1989, memo to Dr. Grover from Steve Dold, Director, DPI Bureau for Policy and Budget.)

PART B. THE IMPACT OF BUSING AND ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS ON THE MPS BUDGET

Section I described the increase in real spending and state aid which has occurred during implementation of the integration program.

This part of Section II reviews how the allocation of the MPS budget has changed, compared to the 1975-76 budget year, before the integration program began.

In 1975-76, MPS financial reports show the following percentage allocation of its $211 million budget :

Table II-3

% Allocation of 1976 MPS Budget

Administration -- 3%

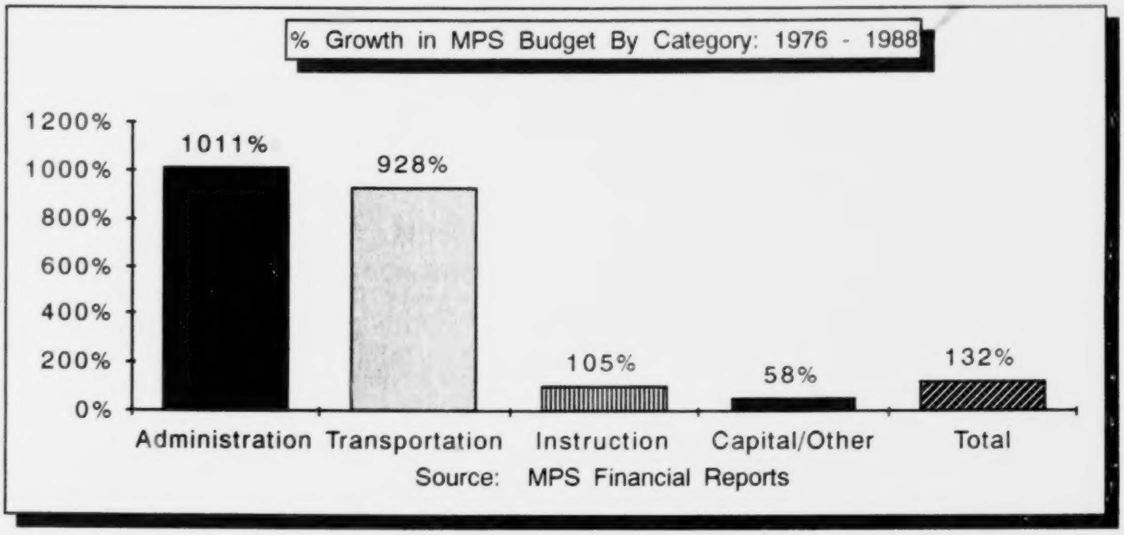
Transportation -- 2%

Instruction -- 71%

Capital & Other -- 24%

Between 1976 and 1988, the budget grew 132%. Chart II-1 shows the percentage growth during those years of the four categories listed above.

Chart II-1



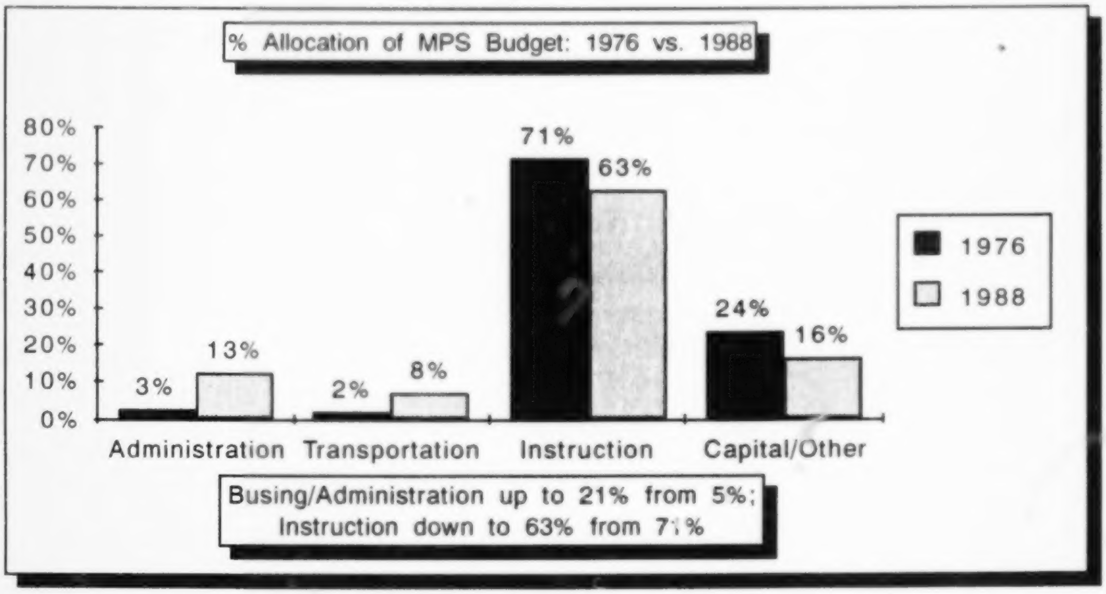
Source: MPS Financial Reports

Implementation of the integration program has taken dollars out of the classroom, in relation to the 1976 budget. While the instructional budget has grown, it has grown less than total spending and **less than inflation.**

Substantial growth in transportation costs relates mostly to busing. A significant, but undetermined, portion of the administrative increase is due to the substantial commitment of MPS central office staff to administration of busing contracts and the complex pupil assignment process.

This growth in busing and administrative costs has changed the relative allocation of the MPS budget. Chart II-2 compares the percentage allocation of budget resources between 1976 and 1988.

Chart II-2



Busing/Administration up to 21% from 5%;
Instruction down to 63% from 71%

Table II-4 shows the result another way. It shows, for 1988-89, the ratio of pupils to administrators and pupils to teachers for:

MPS;

suburban Milwaukee County districts; and

districts bordering Milwaukee County.

By each comparison, MPS shows a greater allocation of staff to administrative purposes and less to instructional staff.

Table II-4

	Pupil/Administrator Ratio	Pupil/Teacher Ratio
Milwaukee Public Schools	92:1	15.9:1
Milwaukee County Suburban Districts	136:1	13.7:1
Districts Bordering Milwaukee County	142:1	13.8:1

Source: ratios derived from data in Charts 6 and 13,
"Educational Trends, Milwaukee Area Public Schools In the 1980s, Data Packet," Public Policy Forum, April 4, 1989.

PART C. "VOLUNTARY SCHOOL CHOICE" IN MPS

In a 1977 interview with the Milwaukee Journal, Superintendent McMurrin was asked about the burden on black neighborhoods and families of the integration program. He replied:

> "The whole concept of burden in Milwaukee is ridiculous. It is ridiculous to talk of burden when the parents and students are moving voluntarily." (p. 149, Fuller thesis)

MPS needs to assert the voluntary nature of busing to comply with legislative policy enacted as part of Chapter 220:

> "...it is the announced policy of the state to facilitate the transfer of students between schools and between school districts to promote cultural and racial integration in education **where students and parents desire such transfer** and where schools and school districts determine that such transfers serve educational interests. The state further declares that it is a proper state expense to encourage such transfers through the provision of special aids." (emphasis added)

MPS might jeopardize state financial assistance if it acknowledged that significant portions of the busing program are other than "voluntary." So, for 12 years, MPS official policy has been that the vast majority of its students get their "first" choice of schools and that the integration program has not involved forced busing. The president of the MPS School Board wrote in a 1988 editorial column that the integration program had succeeded based on the system's ability to provide voluntary choices of busing and school selection to MPS parents.

In practice, the MPS program is not "voluntary" for thousands of parents, nor does it necessarily offer parents their first choice.

Significant demographic changes occurred in MPS enrollment during the 1970s. White enrollment declined more than 50%. Black enrollment rose more than 20%. Yet MPS continued a pattern, begun in the 1950s and 1960s, of building new schools in white neighborhoods. Further, as part of the integration program, some black neighborhood schools were converted to specialty schools and other black neighborhood schools were closed.

Thus, many black neighborhoods had substantially more pupils than space in neighborhood schools. Thousands of parents had no choice about **whether** their child would be bused. The choice that many parents regard as most important -- the choice of attending a neighborhood school -- was nonexistent for thousands of black families. A policy of building schools where children lived could have addressed this, but it would have meant that whites would be bused to the central city for integration.

The demographic trends have continued. By 1988, black enrollment rose to 53,000, from 34,000 in 1969. White enrollment dropped to 31,000 from 94,000.

Table II-5 depicts, for 1986-87, the impact of these trends. The table categorizes MPS by areas (I through V) with high minority enrollment of 80% or more to low minority enrollment of less than 15%. It shows the number of students in each area, the number of available school seats, and the surplus or deficit of space.

Table II-5

Area	% Minority	Students	Seats	Surplus(Deficit)
I	80 - 100	40,855	19,091	(21,765)
II	60 - 79.9	14,703	10,985	(3,718)
III	30- 59.9	17,379	19,946	2,567
IV	15 - 29.9	5,084	6,978	1,894
V	0 - 14.9	11,351	19,168	7,817

Source: "Milwaukee Public Schools -- 1986-87 Attendance Area/School Enrollment," The Interim Steering Committee of the New North Division School District, 1987.

Thus, in the predominant minority areas (I and II), there is no space for more than half the students.

What pattern of "voluntary" busing and " choice" emerges?

For many black neighborhoods, the result includes the busing of children from a single attendance area to 70, 80, 90, or even 100 **different** schools. This is not a pattern dictated by parent choice. It is dictated by the need to "enhance racial balance."

Table II-6 ranks the top 20 neighborhood attendance areas by the number of different schools to which children were bused in 1987-88. The table shows the percent of attendance area children who were black, the number who attend the neighborhood school, the number bused, and the number of schools to which they were bused.

Table II-6

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL A.A.	%BLACK	#ATTENDING A.A. SCHOOL	#BUSED	#SCHOOLS BUSED TO
CLARK	96%	481	1,652	104
27TH ST.	82%	474	1,014	99
AUER	96%	504	1,071	97
37TH ST.	86%	499	983	96
BERGER	96%	510	646	94
LAFOLLETTE	98%	585	606	94
HI-MOUNT	68%	393	757	93
20TH ST.	97%	606	657	92
HOPKINS	99%	733	812	91
SIEFERT	78%	505	768	91
31ST ST.	88%	379	744	90
SHERMAN	64%	456	612	89
LEE	98%	596	414	88
PALMER	80%	471	640	88
GARDEN HOMES	97%	460	481	85
HOLMES	81%	487	401	83
FRANKLIN	99%	522	391	81
WISCONSIN	63%	359	521	81
GREEN BAY	97%	501	302	79
Total		9,521	13,472	(avg.) 86

Source: September 1988 MPS Sending and Receiving Attendance Reports.

In these inner city neighborhoods, nearly 60% of the students were bused to an average of 86 different elementary schools for each attendance area.

Most of the neighborhood schools listed above are not integrated. To integrate them would require busing more blacks out **and** busing substantial numbers of whites in. That would run counter to the MPS policy of minimizing white busing to the central city (except to specialty schools).

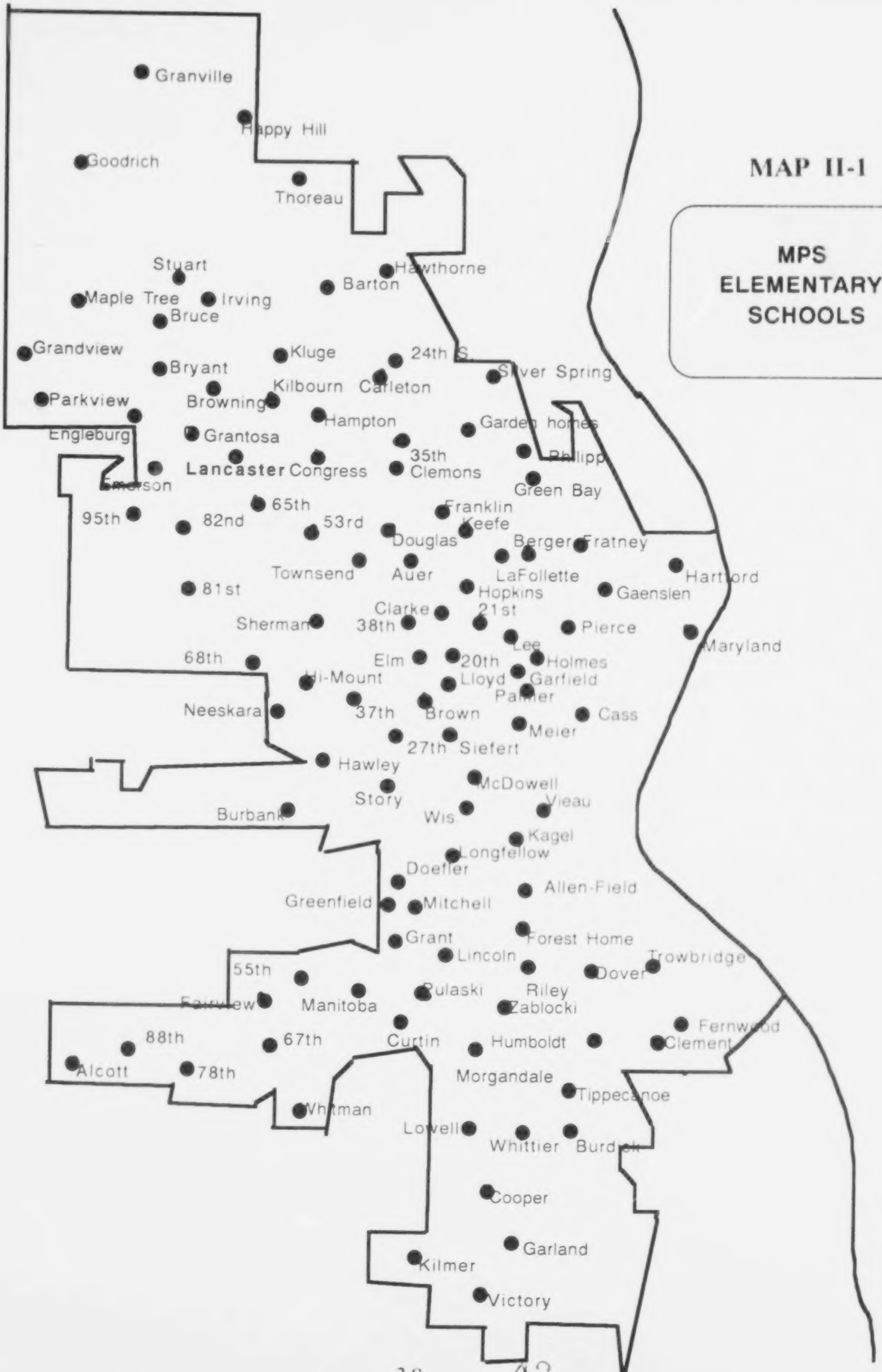
A semblance of choice occurs with respect to white attendance patterns. Currently, while nearly 60% of blacks are bused from their neighborhood schools, the percentage for whites is 35%. (Source: "Choice in the Milwaukee Public School System," Rep. Annette Williams, May, 1989.)

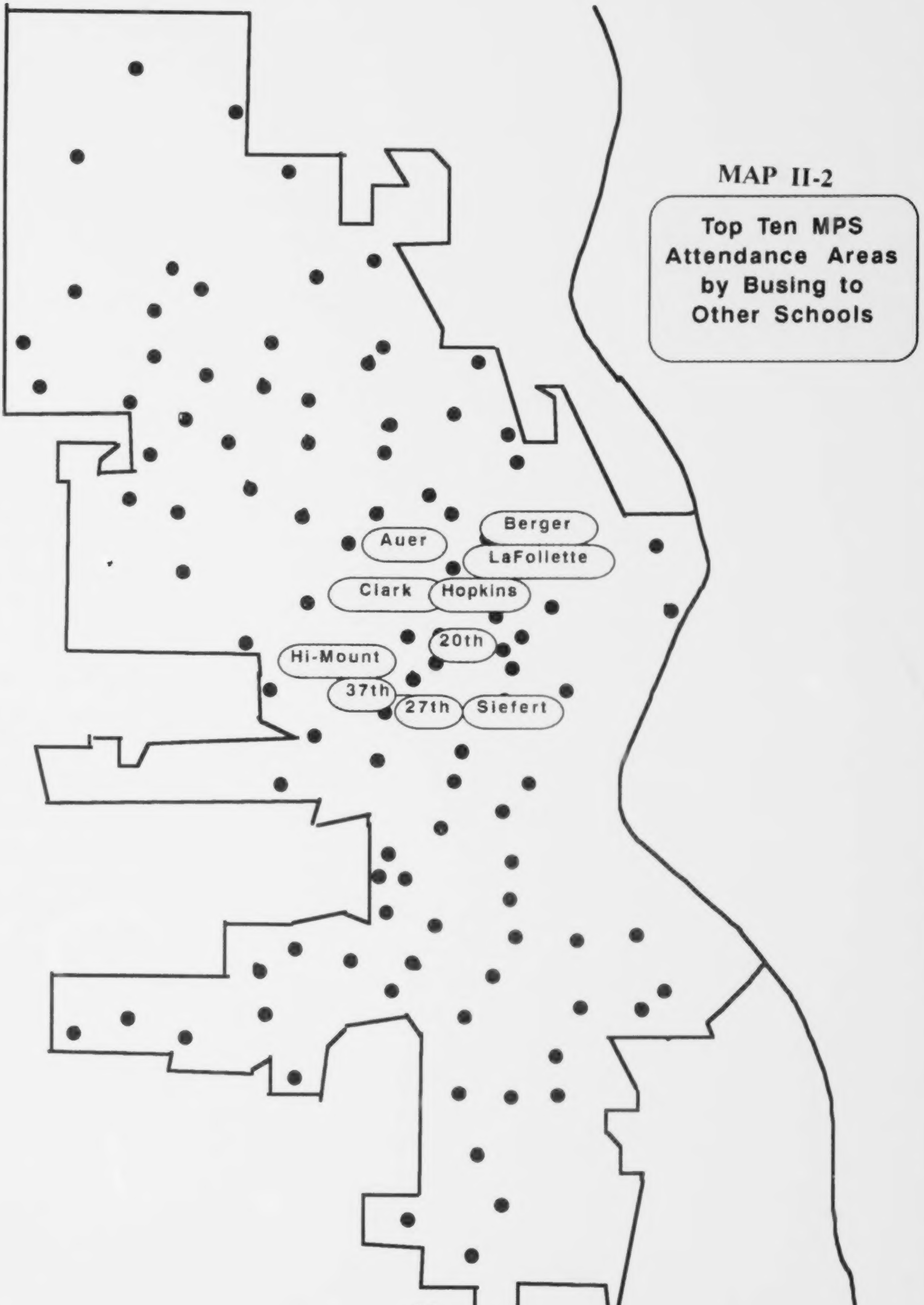
The maps that follow further show the results of the pupil assignment system.

> Map II-1, p. 38, locates all MPS elementary schools.
>
> Map II-2, p. 39, highlights 10 areas from which children are bused to the greatest number of other schools.
>
> Map II-3, p. 40, locates Palmer School. From this attendance area, 640 black students were bused to 88 different elementary schools in 1987-88.
>
> Map II-4, p. 41, diagrams the busing pattern from Palmer.
>
> Map II-5, p. 42, diagrams busing from the Auer Avenue Attendance Area.
>
> Map II-6, p. 43, diagrams busing from the Green Bay Attendance Area.
>
> Map II-7, p. 44, consolidates into one diagram the busing pattern for Palmer, Auer, and Green Bay schools.

MAP II-1

MPS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

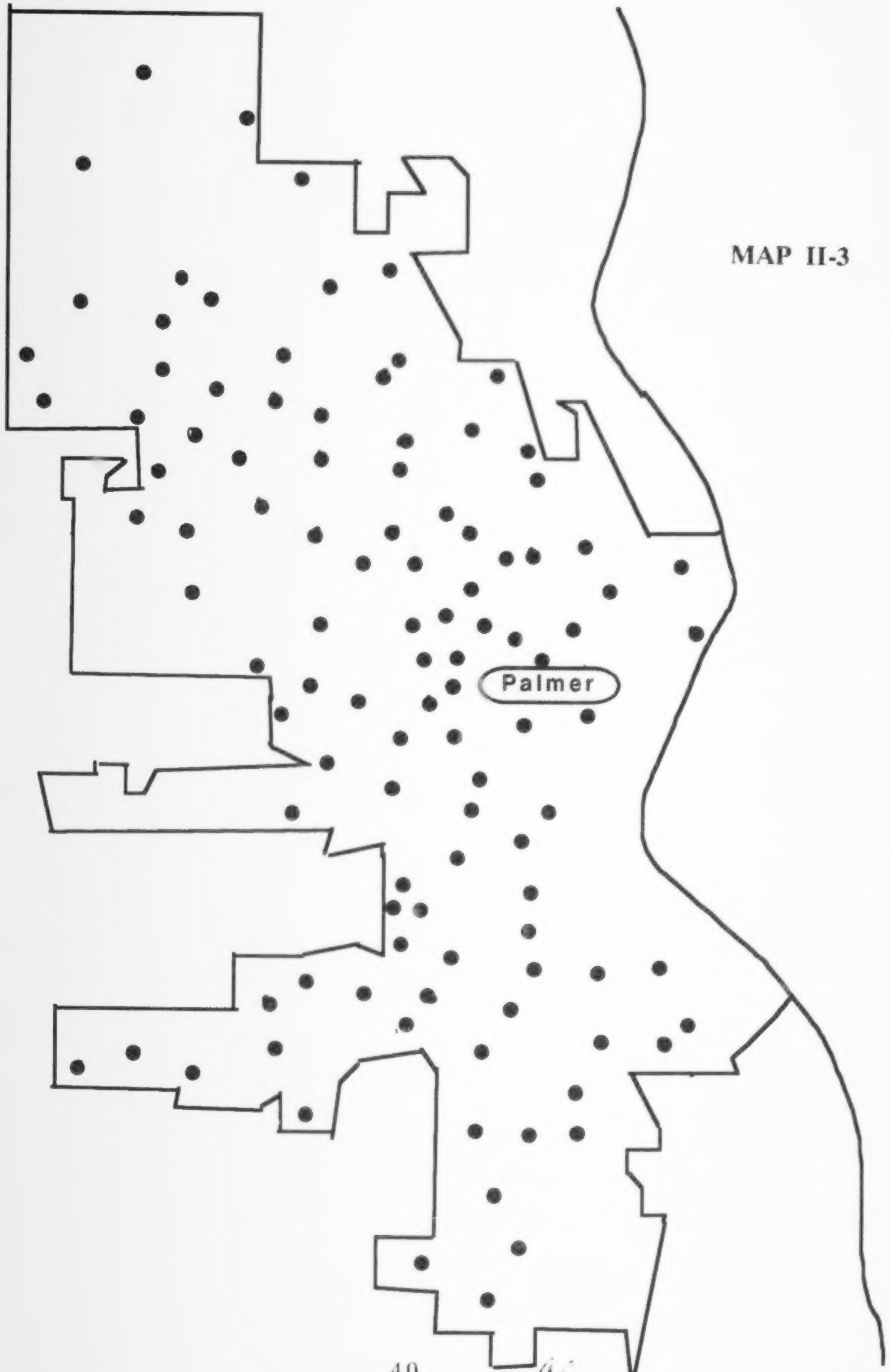

Granville
Happy Hill
Goodrich
Thoreau
Stuart
Hawthorne
Barton
Maple Tree
Irving
Bruce
Grandview
Kluge
24th St.
Bryant
Silver Spring
Kilbourn
Carleton
Parkview
Browning
Hampton
Garden homes
Engleburg
Grantosa
35th
Phillipp
Lancaster
Congress
Clemons
Emerson
Green Bay
65th
Franklin
95th
82nd
53rd
Keefe
Douglas
Berger
Fratney
Townsend
Auer
LaFollette
Hartford
81st
Hopkins
Gaenslen
Clarke
21st
Sherman
38th
Pierce
Maryland
Lee
68th
Elm
20th
Holmes
Hi-Mount
Lloyd
Garfield
Palmer
Neeskara
37th
Brown
Cass
Meier
27th
Siefert
Hawley
McDowell
Story
Vieau
Burbank
Wis.
Kagel
Longfellow
Doerfler
Allen-Field
Greenfield
Mitchell
Grant
Forest Home
Lincoln
Trowbridge
55th
Dover
Pulaski
Riley
Fairview
Manitoba
Zablocki
Fernwood
88th
67th
Curtin
Humboldt
Clement
Alcott
78th
Morgandale
Tippecanoe
Whitman
Lowell
Whittier
Burdick
Cooper
Garland
Kilmer
Victory

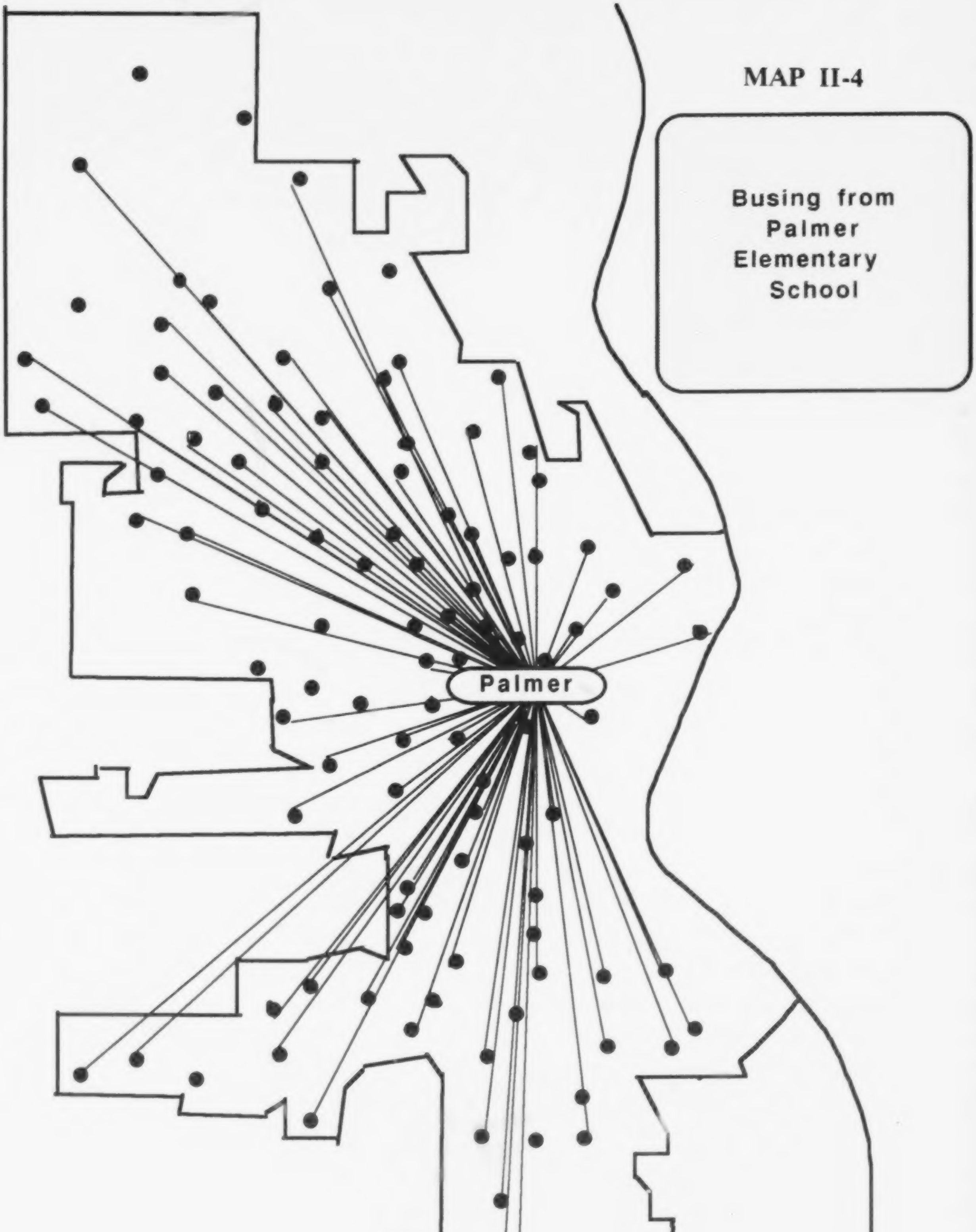

Berger
Auer
LaFollette
Clark
Hopkins
20th
Hi-Mount
37th
27th
Siefert

MAP II-2

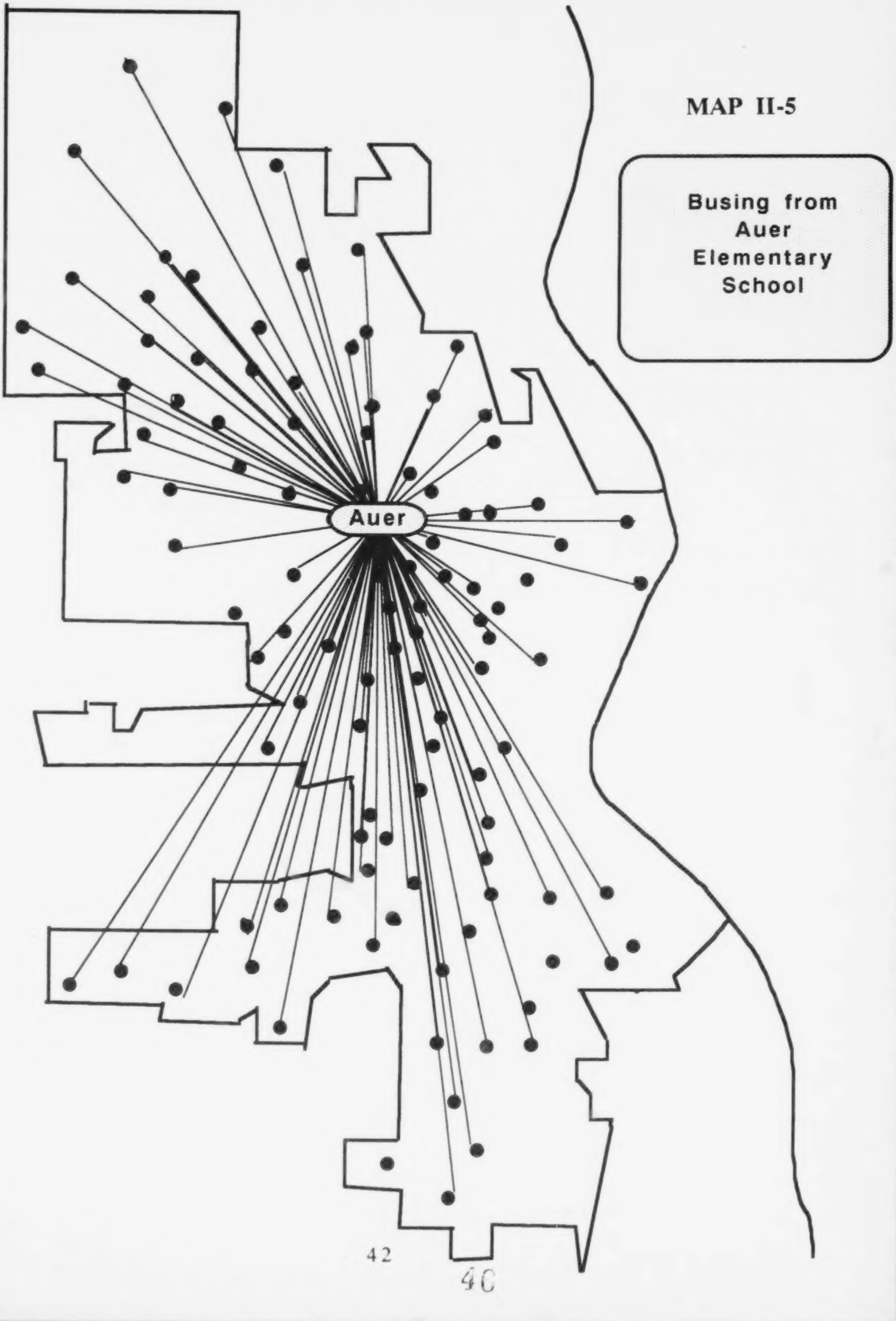
Top Ten MPS Attendance Areas by Busing to Other Schools

MAP II-3



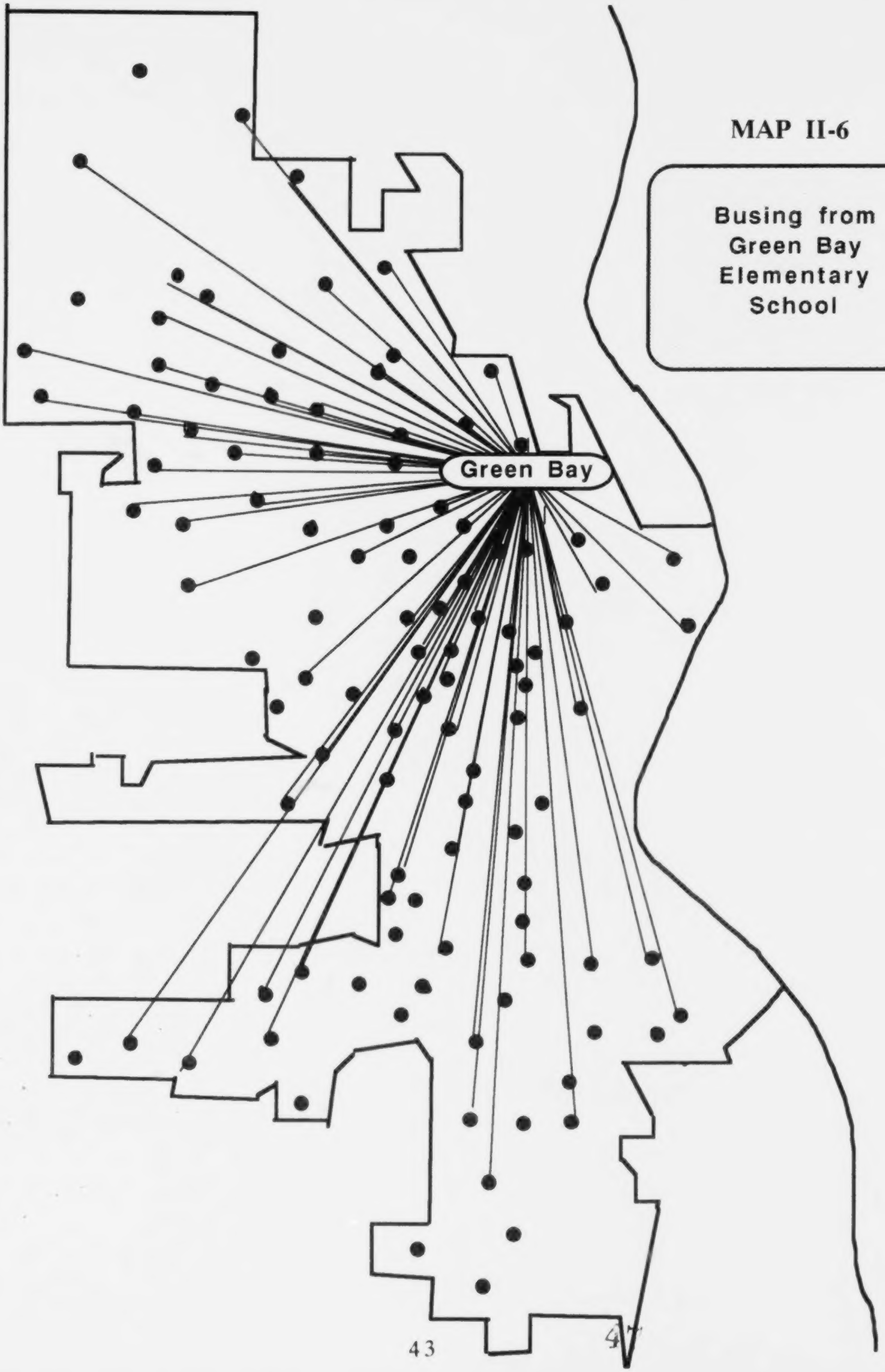

MAP II-4
Busing from Palmer Elementary School
Palmer

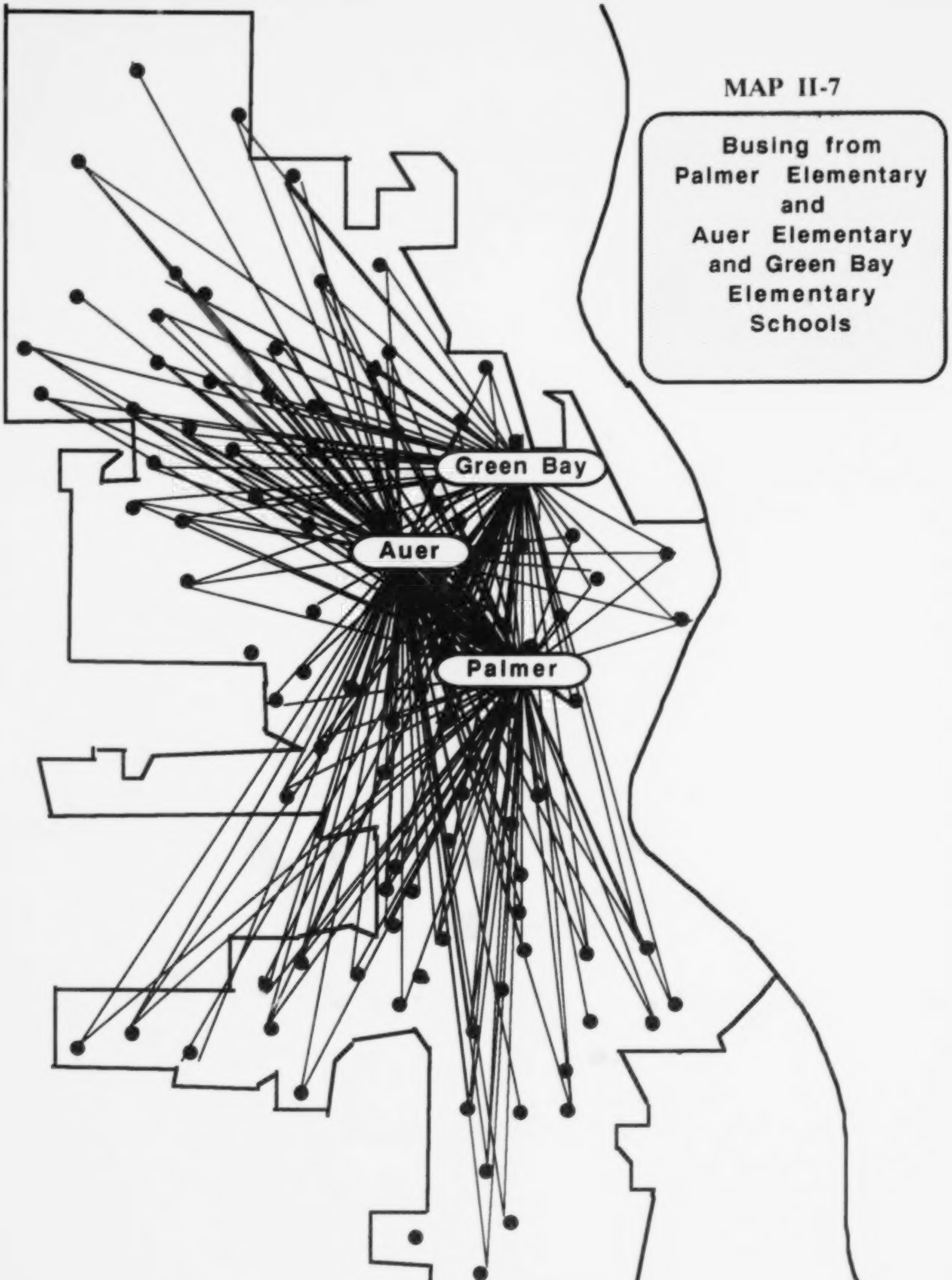
MAP II-5


Busing from Auer Elementary School
Auer

MAP II-6

Busing from Green Bay Elementary School





MAP II-7

Busing from Palmer Elementary and Auer Elementary and Green Bay Elementary Schools

Green Bay
Auer
Palmer

The degree to which "choice" and "voluntarism" characterize the system is highlighted by the following excerpts from a March 1989 memo to MPS principals on procedures for the April 24 - June 16 phase of the 1989 enrollment process.

Page 17 of the memo deals with assignment procedures for "parents requesting a change [of assignment]...because of change of circumstances/dissatisfied." Under a column labelled "Procedures," principals are advised to "counsel" parents as follows:

> "a) fall assignments are finalized for all students in racially balanced schools.
>
> "b) requests for an assignment from one racially balanced school to another will be denied.
>
> "c) requests for an assignment into a school that is closed will be denied.
>
> "d) requests for an assignment into a school where the student's presence does not enhance racial balance will be denied.
>
> "e) requests for an assignment from a racially balanced school to a racially isolated attendance area school will be denied."

If these steps don't dissuade the parent, principals are to advise parents to file "Student Assignment Form #1" with the Department of Student Services, which "...will make an appropriate disposition, make any necessary data base changes, and send assignment notices to parents...In cases where it is not possible to accommodate the parent choice, they will be advised by the Department...of their right to appeal this decision."

An April 24 Milwaukee Journal article described a situation in which 122 parents of academically gifted pupils were notified that they would not be assigned to their chosen schools because it would not "enhance racial balance." After parents protested, the Superintendent's office reversed the decision.

D. THE NEED FOR CHANGE

This system requires change. In addition to basic reasons of equity, there are apparent issues of accountability and parent and community involvement.

In December, State Schools Superintendent Herbert Grover said a reassessment of the busing program might be needed: "It's hard for parents to visit the school when the school is 10 miles away." ("Grover Wants to See Progress in City Schools," Milwaukee Journal, December 25, 1988.)

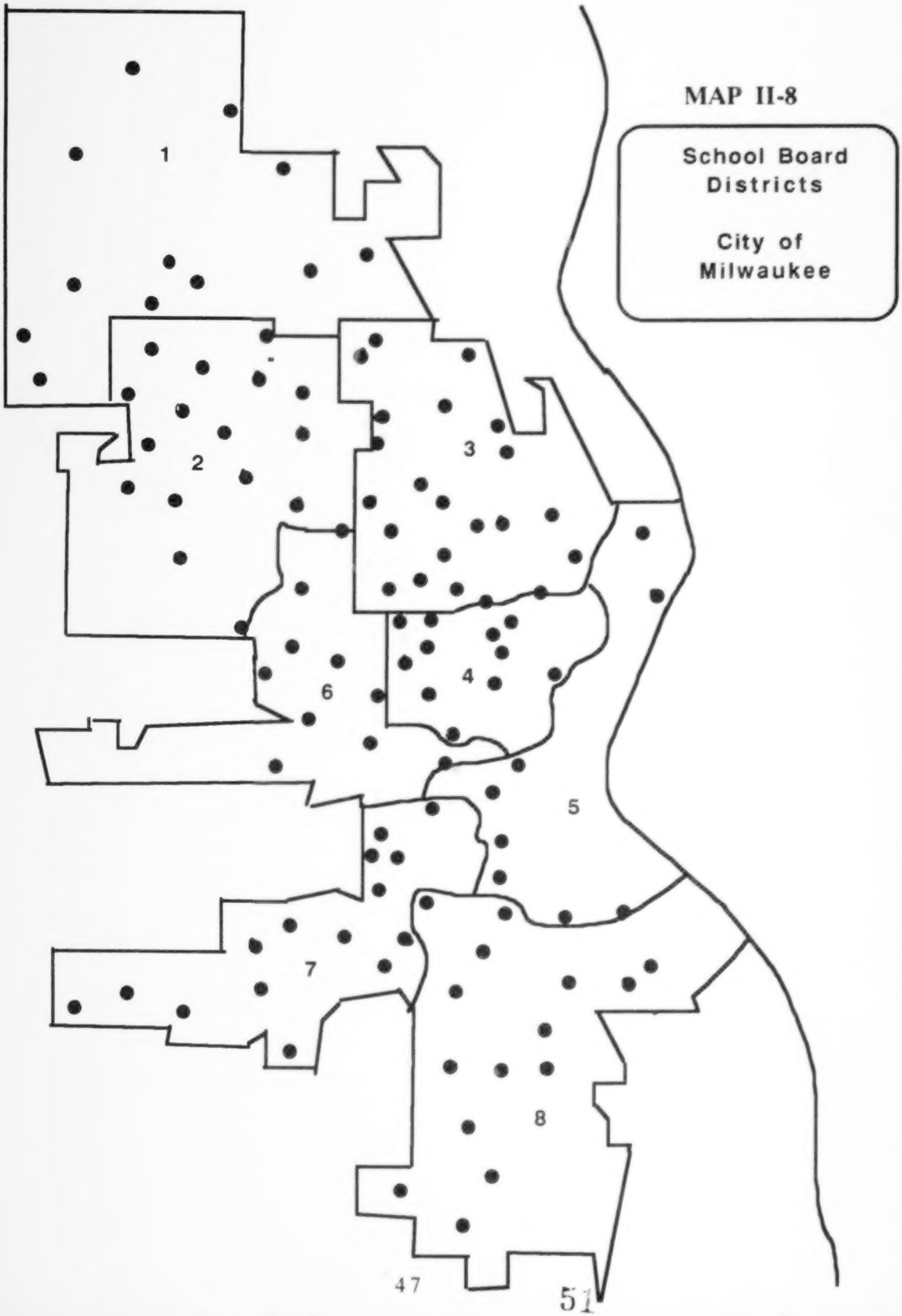
The maps that follow illustrate an accountability problem MPS has yet to reconcile resulting from the current busing system and the new system of decentralized Service Delivery Areas.

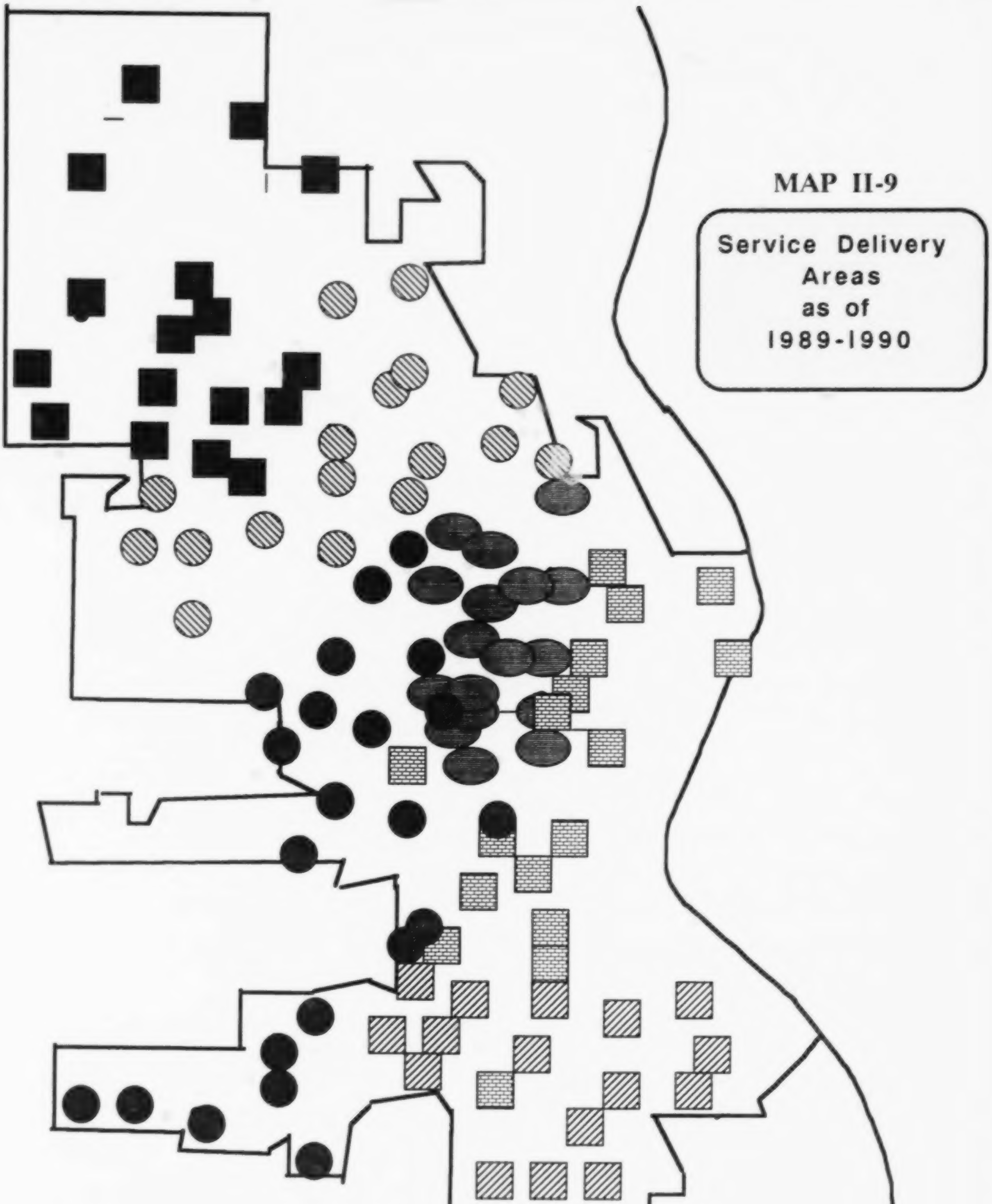
> Map II-8, p. 47, locates elementary schools within one of eight districts represented by School Board members.

Map II-9, p. 48, locates elementary schools by using symbols for the six different "Service Delivery Areas" which will take effect in September under Superintendent Peterkin's decentralization plan.

Map II-10, p. 49, shows the schools, by Service Delivery Area, and the various School Board districts in which they are located.

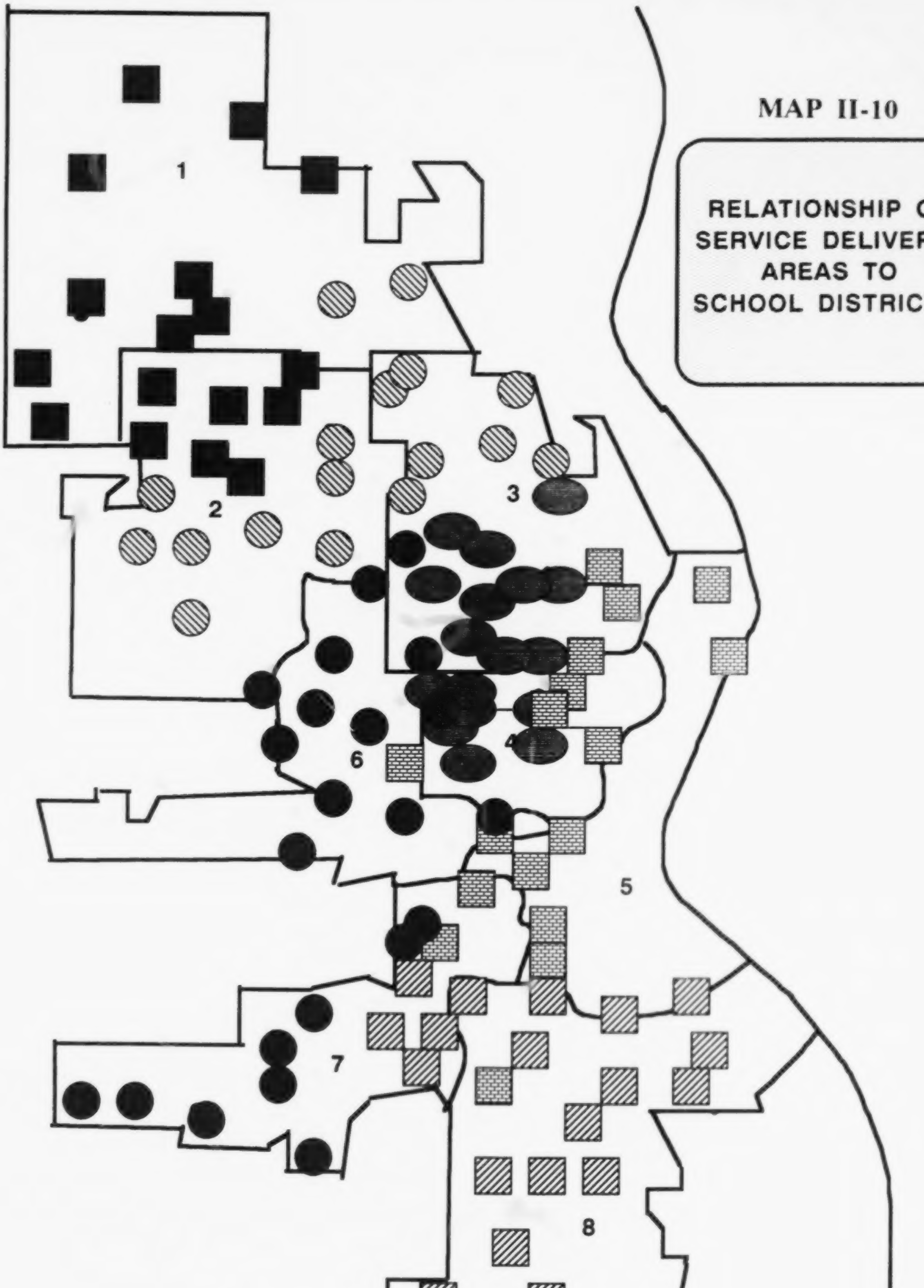
Map II-11, p. 50, shows the busing pattern from the Palmer School Attendance Area.


MAP II-8
School Board Districts
City of Milwaukee
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8



MAP II-9

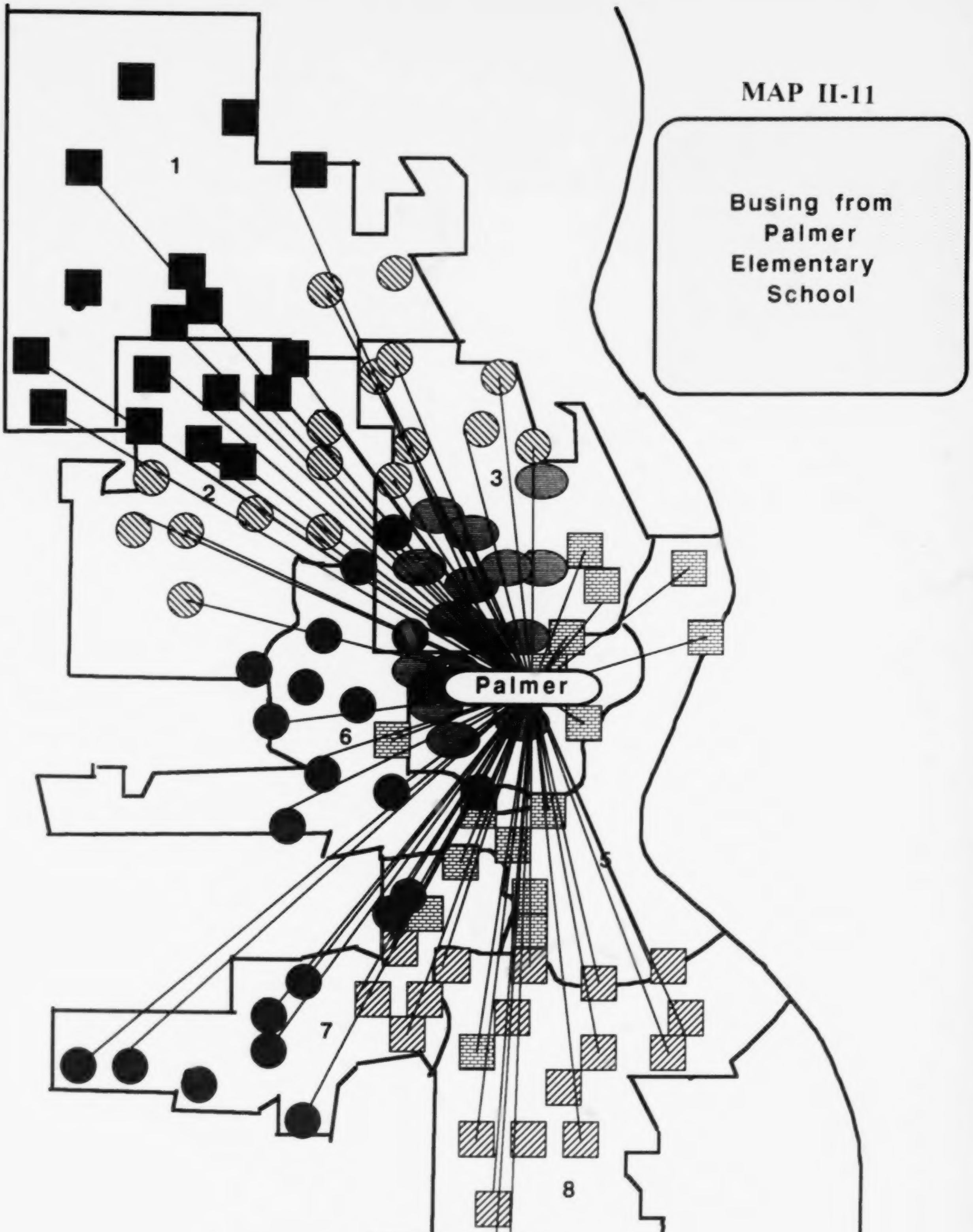
Service Delivery Areas as of 1989-1990



MAP II-10

RELATIONSHIP OF SERVICE DELIVERY AREAS TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

MAP II-11


Busing from Palmer Elementary School
1
2
3
5
6
7
8
Palmer

The last map shows that a parent of a child bused from the Palmer School Attendance Area face an ambiguous situation.

Where does this family fit in the system?

They live in one attendance area, which is part of a new Service Delivery Area headed by a new community superintendent. They are represented on the School Board by the member from District Four. Yet their child likely attends another school, in another Service Delivery Area, headed by another community superintendent, represented by another member on the School Board. These circumstances will be present in neighborhoods throughout the city.

This system could make parent and community involvement and accountability more difficult.

The direction MPS will take to address this is not clear.

In January, the Superintendent sought School Board approval of the Service Delivery Areas, prior to a separate review and possible change in student assignment practices. He wrote:

> "These (service delivery areas) will not change in any way the racial composition of students or faculty at any MPS school. They will not change the current student and faculty assignment process and will not alter in any way MPS' firm commitment to racial integration...
>
> "We will be studying student assignment practices in MPS consistent with our goal of promoting integration...many [student assignment patterns] are more than 12 years old and may no longer promote efficient, integrated student assignments.
>
> "The issue of student assignments...is complicated and requires significant additional study and community input. At the same time, we want to [implement the service delivery areas] to avoid delay in enhancing MPS' ability to deliver instructional and other administrative services to schools in order to improve educational services and programs in MPS, independent of student assignment practices..."
>
> (January 25, 1989, report from the Superintendent to School Board on approval of Service Delivery Areas.)

In April, the Board approved Peterkin's recommendation to hire consultants to suggest a new student assignment plan to the Board by September, presumably for implementation in 1990 or later.

The consultants' proposal to Superintendent Peterkin stated:

> "A number of concerns have been raised about the present student assignment system...which may warrant revisions to the current system. While the existing pattern of student assignment has given some students access to magnet schools, it has been suggested that other students have not benefited from these education offerings.

> "Moreover, it has been suggested that the transportation burden has been disproportionately experienced by blacks. In addition, it has been suggested that demographic changes in the city have rendered obsolete some of the current student attendance districts for maintaining desegregation in schools.
>
> "Finally, it has been suggested that a new method of student assignment that limits transportation costs may be necessary."
>
> (April 14, 1989, memo to Dr. Peterkin from Charles Willie and Michael Alves.)

The proposed workplan of the consultants calls for a new assignment plan to:

> "...simplify the student assignment process, maximize equity, achieve a more efficient [and] cost-effective student transportation system, and maintain desegregation. Moreover, any such plan should guarantee equal access to excellent educational opportunity to all students, regardless of their residential address. Finally, the student attendance areas used in any such plan must have an equivalent range of schools and programs of choice, and such a plan should be workable, practical, and fair."

This seeks to be all things to all people. In doing so, it avoids the policy issues that MPS must resolve.

The questions are: will racial balance continue to **dominate** the pupil assignment process from Central Administration? Will it give way to other priorities (true parent choice, neighborhood involvement)? Or will the policy be a mix of competing objectives which can't be implemented simultaneously?

Given the segregated housing pattern in Milwaukee, the lack of adequate school space in the center city, and the district's past policy of disproportionate busing for blacks, it remains to be seen how significant change can occur if racial balance remains the dominant factor in pupil assignment .

SECTION III

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT: MPS TRADITIONAL & SPECIALTY SCHOOLS

MPS School Director Joyce Mallory is a member of the Chapter 220 Coordinating Council. At a Spring 1989 meeting, she told the council:

> **"There is an issue that will not go away...How well are African-American children doing? We can't assume that just because they're sitting in your classrooms that they're being effectively educated...Quality education doesn't occur simply because African-American children are sitting next to white children."**

Sections III and IV of this study review minority academic achievement under the school integration program.

This section focuses on MPS traditional schools, attended by 78% of black MPS students, and the city's specialty schools, attended by 16% of MPS black students. Section IV reviews achievement in the city-suburban exchange program, attended by the remaining 6% of MPS black students.

Summary of Principal Findings and Conclusions

Black achievement in the city's ten integrated traditional high schools is strikingly low. In 1988:

-Grades averaged D to D+.

-Black students received F's in 26 to 43 percent of their courses.

-Only 8 to 21 percent of black students exceeded national test averages.

Another trend emerges. Performance among many white MPS students is declining:

-White grades declined from 1983-84 to 1987-88 at seven of ten schools.

-The percent of courses failed by whites increased at four schools.

-The percent of whites exceeding national test averages declined at four schools.

The gap between black and white performance remains large at most specialty and traditional schools. Some narrowing has occurred since 1983-84, often due to lower white achievement.

While racial segregation is reduced, a new type of dual school system has emerged.

> **-Integrated, traditional schools form one part of the system. These largely ineffective schools are attended by 78% of MPS blacks.**
>
> **-Integrated specialty schools form a second part. These are attended by 16% of Milwaukee's blacks, mostly from homes with more income, stability, and parental involvement.**
>
> **-Blacks do better at specialty schools than at traditional schools, but significant gaps remain between white and black achievement at both.**

BACKGROUND

Definitions

Racial Integration. MPS defines integration as occurring when a school has a black enrollment of between 25% and 65%. By this standard, 112 of the system's 138 schools are integrated. The primary method of achieving integration is busing.

Before 1976, 14 of 158 schools were integrated, using the then-standard of black enrollment of 25% to 45%. Of the remainder, 37 were mostly black and 107 were mostly white.

Specialty and Traditional Schools. MPS categorizes schools as:

> -Citywide specialty schools. The city's 32 specialty schools include eighteen elementary, nine middle, and five high schools.
>
> -Traditional or regular elementary schools, regular middle schools, and comprehensive high schools (MPS Info #45, January, 1986). This study uses the term "traditional" to identify these schools. There are more than 100 traditional schools.

Attendance

Table III-1 summarizes MPS school enrollment.

Table III-1

MPS Enrollment (Fall 1988)

	TOTAL	SPECIALTY*	CH.220**	OTHER***
BLACK	52,908	8,305	3,383	41,220
NON-BLACK	43,382	8,593	911	33,878
TOTAL	96,290	16,898	4,294	75,098

*includes 25 of 26 specialty schools as of 1986; excludes Juneau High School and seven specialty schools added since then; see below for explanation.

****inter**district transfers to suburbs; see Section IV

***includes all students in "regular," "traditional," "comprehensive," "alternate programs," those at Juneau High School, and the seven specialty schools not in column 2.

Source: tables in 1987/88 School/Student Statistical Profile; 1986 MPS list of specialty schools; 1989 MPS list of specialty schools.

This table indicates:

-blacks are 55% of total enrollment and 49% of specialty enrollment;

-78% of blacks and 78% of all students attend traditional elementary, middle, and high schools as defined here.

-22% of blacks attend either specialty schools (16%) or suburban schools (6%).

Data Base

Many students in the MPS class of 1988 entered first grade in 1976, the first year of the integration program.

The result is 12 years of increasingly comprehensive information on academic achievement during this period of integration. This is one of the largest data bases known to exist in an integrated system.

During 1976 to 1988, students left and entered MPS. The data do not account for these movements.

This Section focuses on high school achievement during 1983-84 through 1987-88, because:

- Many students who began school when integration began attended high school during this period. Their performance reflects the quality of elementary and middle school preparation and relates directly to expectations of performance after leaving school.

- High school populations include students who have been in the integration program longest. Also, integration is greatest in MPS high schools. All but one are integrated.

- More information is available than for earlier years:

  - 1983-84 was the base year used by the Study Commission on the Quality of Education in the Milwaukee Public Schools (Study Commission). Its staff undertook the most extensive gathering of school data ever in metropolitan Milwaukee.

  - The Public Policy Forum has issued significant reports in 1987, 1988, and 1989.

  - MPS and some suburban districts have made more information available in recent years.

Traditional MPS High Schools

MPS has 15 high schools. Five are excluded from the discussion below in Part A: North Division; Rufus King; Milwaukee Tech; Riverside; and the High School of the Arts. They were excluded because:

- For some or all of the period studied, King, Tech, Riverside, and the High School of the Arts were specialty schools. Formal and informal screening, based on prior achievement or behavior, influenced achievement at these schools, which are discussed in Part B of this section.

- Juneau High School, classified by MPS as a specialty school, is believed more appropriately included among the group of traditional schools.

- North is 98% black. Because this discussion reviews academic achievement at integrated high schools, data on North will be summarized separately.

Table III-2 shows total MPS high school enrollment for 1988.

Table III-2

MPS High School Enrollment

	Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Total
Students	11,585	1,682	8,791	976	23,034
Percent	50.2%	7.3%	38.2%	4.2%	99.9%

Source: 1987/88 Student/Statistical Profile

Table III-3 shows enrollment without North, King, Tech, Riverside, and the High School of the Arts.

Table III-3

MPS High School Enrollment at the 10 Integrated Traditional Schools

	Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Total
Students	7,908	1,198	6,475	715	16,296
Percent	48.5%	7.4%	39.7%	4.4%	100%

Source: same as Table III-2

Table III-4 below shows the enrollment at the traditional high schools as a percent of enrollment at all MPS high schools.

Table III-4

Traditional High School Enrollment as Percent of Total MPS High School Enrollment

Black	Hispanic	White	Other	Total
68.3%	71.2%	73.7%	73.3%	70.8%

Source: same as Tables III-2 and III-3

Thus, the analysis of integrated traditional high schools in Part A covers ten integrated high schools with 70.8% of the MPS high school population.

Part A. Academic Achievement: Traditional, Integrated High Schools

Two important educational goals of integration are to improve black achievement to acceptable levels and to close the gap between black and white achievement. This section reviews:

-Levels of academic achievement for black students; and

-Comparisons of grades of black and white students.

Data regarding academic achievement at these integrated high schools include:

-Grade Point Averages
-Course Failure Rates
-Standardized Test Scores
-Black/White Achievement Comparison

This largely statistical material is supplemented by:

- -Student Interviews
- -Employer Interviews
- -Learning Climate Within Schools
- -Parent, Teacher, and Public Opinion

GRADE POINT AVERAGES. High school grades for all MPS students declined during the last two decades. The GPA in 1968 was 2.16 on a 4.00 scale, compared with 1.78 in in 1987 and 1.74 in 1988. The low point was 1.68, in 1984. (Source: MPS)

Table III-5 compares grade point averages for black students at ten integrated traditional high schools for 1983/84 and 1987/88.

Table III-5

GPAs for Blacks at Integrated Regular Schools

High School	1983/84	1987/88
Bay View	1.09	1.24
Custer	1.25	1.30
Hamilton	1.16	1.25
Juneau	1.17	1.46
Madison	1.14	1.28
Marshall	1.33	1.53
Pulaski	0.97	1.07
South Division	1.22	1.33
Vincent	1.40	1.47
Washington	1.31	1.59

Sources: Staff Report # 5, August 21, 1985, by Douglas Archbald and John Witte, to the Study Commission; and MPS 1987/88 School Student Statistical Profile, February 21, 1989.

Despite slight improvement, grades remain in the D to D+ range.

COURSE FAILURE RATES. UW-Madison Political Science Prof. John Witte, executive director of the Study Commission, wrote in Staff Report #4 :

> "...perhaps the best indicator of performance, based on grades, is the percent of Fs received in all courses in a school. Standards for failing a course may vary somewhat from teacher to teacher, but it can be argued that a failing grade has a generally common meaning..."

The overall course failure rate for all MPS students at all 15 MPS high schools was 24% in 1987-88, slightly higher than in 1976-77, the first year of the integration program. The course failure rate in 1972-73 and 1974-75 was 16%. Table III-6 depicts these numbers.

Table III-6

MPS High School Course Failure %
All Students: 1973 - 1988

YEAR	% Failure
1972-73	16%
1974-75	16%
1976-77	23%
1987-88	24%

Sources: "High School Report Card Summary" by Dr. Gary Peterson of MPS, July 10, 1984 (with 1988 update provided June 1, 1989).

Table III-7 lists the percent of courses failed by black students in 1983-84 and 1987-88.

Table III-7

Course Failure Rates for Blacks at Integrated Traditional High Schools

High School	1983/84	1987/88
Bay View	41%	33%
Custer	36%	35%
Hamilton	40%	34%
Juneau	36%	26%
Madison	35%	35%
Marshall	32%	28%
Pulaski	48%	43%
South Division	39%	34%
Vincent	31%	30%
Washington	35%	26%

Sources: Same as for table on grade points.

In a paper prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research (University of Chicago, September 5, 1986), Professor Witte said:

> **"...failing courses must be considered as a threshold that indicates no effective learning....the percentages of courses in the Milwaukee Schools that [end] in failures are staggering."**

Witte's assessment of 1983-84 data applies equally well to 1987-88 results.

Professor Witte's 1986 paper offers further information which magnifies the seriousness of course failure rates:

> "In case studies of high schools [by the Study Commission] in both MPS and the suburbs, we were repeatedly told by teachers that students could pass courses by being present, doing most of the work, and generally putting forward some effort. In MPS a number of teachers said that [such an effort] would get students Cs. Thus, when close to a third of the courses taken in a school end in failure, one has to question the amount of learning taking place."

STANDARDIZED TEST SCORES. Standardized tests are useful primarily to compare achievement of **individual** students or **groups** of students with the overall scores in the same class, school, or system. Comparisons with a national norm reference group also are useful.

The data below shows black achievement at the ten integrated high schools. Comparisons of black and white students are provided later.

Black test scores at the ten traditional high schools show low achievement levels; systemwide, fewer than 25% of black students exceed national averages.

Table III-8 shows the composite percent of 10th grade black students testing at or above the national average for reading and math on the Tests of Achievement and Proficiency (TAP).

Table III-8

Percent of Black MPS High School Students Testing Above Average at Traditional Integrated Schools

High School	1983/84	1987/88
Bay View	15	21
Custer	18	19
Hamilton	13	17
Juneau	15	16
Madison	27	18
Marshall	19	16
Pulaski	15	8
South Division	13	13
Vincent	19	15
Washington	16	21

Sources: Staff Report # 6 to the Study Commission by Daniel Walsh and John Witte, Table 2H, August 1, 1985; and composites derived by this writer from 1987/88 MPS School/Student Statistical Profile, February 21, 1989. Different tests and norm groups were used for each year.

On only three occasions in two years did more than 20% of the black students exceed the national average. On one occasion did more than 25% of the black students exceed the average.

Although low, these test scores almost certainly **overstate** the achievement of black MPS students, because substantial numbers do not even take the examinations. Table III-9 shows the percent of black students tested during 1984-85 and 1987-88:

Table III-9

% of Enrolled MPS Blacks Taking Standardized Tests

High School	%Tested ('85)	%Tested('88)
Bay View	61	75
Custer	86	70
Hamilton	57	67
Juneau	59	65
Madison	67	69
Marshall	69	72
Pulaski	56	64
South Division	83	73
Vincent	84	70
Washington	64	72

Source: MPS

An MPS research official said one could reasonably assume that those who did not take the test would be expected to do more poorly than those who did.

For 1985, the percent of students tested at the then two leading city high schools, King and Tech, was 97% and 94%, respectively. In 1988, the percent tested at King and Tech was 90% and 87%.

A recent proposal from an MPS study group would involve unspecified reductions in the use standardized tests. A rationale for less use of standardized tests is offered by Robert Peterson, a Milwaukee Public Schools teacher who has been active in school reform efforts.

> "A closer look at who takes the standardized tests reveals that students who attend [MPS] schools [with] high concentrations of poor and black students are likely to take two to three times as many standardized tests as those who attend schools which are more affluent and more white...Instead of forcing reluctant school systems to improve the education of poor and minority students, concern over test scores has [changed] effective school plans into meaningless number games and has consumed large chunks of the school day with practice tests and test-like activities."
>
> ("Half Million Standardized Tests Given to MPS Students," Rethinking Schools, May-June, 1989.)

An MPS research expert has suggested that instead of administering standardized tests systemwide at four grades (2, 5, 7, and 10), a scientific sample of students could be tested at all grades to allow valid comparisons with national norms. This could leave parents of untested students without reliable comparative test data, unless the district were to substitute meaningful systemwide tests geared to important achievement skills.

BLACK-WHITE ACHIEVEMENT GAP. The **relative** gap in performance between blacks and whites is as important as the **absolute** level of black performance. Closing that gap is a major objective of school integration.

Tables III-10, III-11, and III-12 compare blacks and whites at the ten traditional schools between 1983/84 and 1987-88 in the following categories:

- **-Grade Point Averages**
- **-Percent of Courses Failed**
- **-Standardized Tests**

Grade Point Average. Table III-10 shows the GPA gap in 1984 and 1988. Average white GPAs exceeded average black GPAs in all cases. The last column shows changes in the gap. A negative number indicates the gap closed: for example, on a 4.00 scale the black-white gap at Bay View closed 0.17.

Table III-10

Black/White GPA Gap

High School	1983/84	1987/88	Change*
Bay View	0.87	0.70	-0.17
Custer	0.57	0.40	-0.17
Hamilton	1.07	1.02	-0.05
Juneau	0.56	0.54	-0.02
Madison	0.72	0.72	--
Marshall	0.85	0.58	-0.27
Pulaski	0.99	0.39	-0.60
South Division	0.39	0.17	-0.22
Vincent	0.67	0.42	-0.25
Washington	0.50	0.07	-0.43

Sources: Study Commission report (Staff #5) and MPS School/Student Statistical Profile previously cited.

In nine of ten cases, the gap closed. At Madison High, there was no change.

However, any encouragement this offers must be tempered. In seven of nine cases, the gap closed in part because white GPAs **declined**. For example, the largest change, at Pulaski, reflected a .50 grade point **decline** among whites and a .10 increase among blacks. 1987-88 GPAs at Pulaski were 1.07 for blacks and 1.46 for whites.

Most of the gap closings at Custer and Vincent also were due to white declines in GPA. Half the closing at South was due to white declines.

At Marshall and Vincent, noteworthy gap reductions were due to black gains in GPA. Still, black GPAs at these schools were 1.59 and 1.47, respectively.

Course Failures. Table III-11 shows courses failed in 1987-88 by black and white students. The third column shows the 1987-88 gap, expressed as the black failure rate less the white failure rate. The fourth column shows the change in gaps since 1983-84 . A negative number means the gap narrowed. Thus, for Bay View, the 13 percentage point gap in 1987-88 compares to a 22 percentage point gap in 1983-84.

Table III-11

Black/White Course Failure Gap
1987-88 and Change Since 1983-84

High School	1987-88 Black Course Failure %	1987-88 White Course Failure %	1987-88 % Point Gap	Change Since'84
Bay View	33	20	13	-9
Custer	35	30	5	-4
Hamilton	34	13	21	-5
Juneau	26	17	9	-2
Madison	35	22	13	-3
Marshall	28	19	9	-5
Pulaski	43	21	22	-5
South Division	34	31	3	-4
Vincent	30	13	17	+4
Washington	26	22	4	-3

Sources: 1987/88 School/Statistical Profile and Table 9, Witte paper prepared for 1986 Univ. of Chicago desegregation conference.

Noteworthy data from this table and supporting statistics:

1) In four of nine cases where the gap closed, white course failure rates increased.

2) Where the gap is closest, the white failure rate tends to be highest.

3) The high absolute number for blacks or whites is striking; **at only four schools did either racial group fail less than 20% of courses.**

Standardized Tests. Table III-12 compares the percentage of black and white 10th graders who exceeded the national average on the 1987-88 Test of Achievement and Proficiency. The third column shows the gap for 1987-88. The fourth column shows the change in gap since 1983-84.

Table III-12

Black/White Standardized Test Gap

High School	Black % Above Avg	White % Above Avg	1988 Gap	Chg.Since '84
Bay View	21	52	31	-12
Custer	19	38	19	-15
Hamilton	17	65	48	-3
Juneau	16	53	37	+4
Madison	18	63	45	+10
Marshall	16	63	47	+3
Pulaski	8	40	32	-4
South Division	13	38	25	+4
Vincent	15	57	42	-2
Washington	21	52	31	-19

Source: Composite scores from reading and math tests derived by the author (math score + reading score/2) from 1987/88 School/Student Profile.

This table is noteworthy because:

- The gap increased at four schools.

- The gap narrowed at four schools in part because of a **decline in the percent of whites above the national average.** At Custer, Pulaski, and Washington, white scores declined by 14, 11, and 14 percentage points, respectively.

- The gap is more than 30 percentage points at eight of ten schools.

In 1986, a year after extensive Study Commission research, Professor Witte wrote in his paper to the National Conference on Desegregation Research:

> "...at the [MPS] high school level the combined evidence of test scores, dropout rates, and failures indicates that a number of MPS schools are very ineffective and essentially bankrupt institutions. This was clearly the case in the one MPS [traditional] high school in which the commission did a case study." (See "The Learning Climate" below for description of the study.)

Tables III-5 through III-12 bring most major categories cited by Professor Witte forward four years. The data lead to continuing pessimism about the current state of public education in MPS and the absence of significant progress during the period of racial integration.

North Division High School

North Division is the only MPS high school which is not integrated. It has 1,256 students, 98% of whom are black.

The school's history includes an effort by MPS to convert it to a citywide specialty high school. This was resisted successfully by various community groups, who sought to preserve a neighborhood high school in the Central City. Part of the agreement to do so included a plan to integrate the school by busing whites from elsewhere in Milwaukee. This never occurred, presumably because of the policy of not busing whites to black neighborhoods.

Table III-13 shows 1984 and 1988 data for North Division regarding grades, percent of courses failed, and standardized achievement test scores.

Table III-13

Academic Achievement Measures North Division High School

	1984	1988
Grade Point Average	1.40	1.35
% of Courses Failed	29%	33%
Standardized Tests (% over 50th %ile)	14%	14%

Sources: same as for tables on integrated high schools

Demographic indicators for the student population at North are indicative of widespread poverty and family instability. See Table III-14. For an explanation of these indicators, see discussion of free lunch, mobility, and attendance in Part B of this Section.

Table III-14

Demographic Variables
North Division vs All MPS High Schools
1987-88

	North Division	Systemwide
% of Students Eligible for Free Lunch	66%	41%
% Mobility Rate	60%	31%
Attendance Rate	83%*	85%

Source: 1987/88 Student Statistical Profile.

*The actual attendance rate is much lower, in the opinion of some citizens who follow the school's activities.

The remainder of Part A addresses other measures of MPS performance, including opinions of students, parents, teachers, employers and the public, and information on the learning climate in two traditional high schools.

Student Opinions

Sixty-three per cent of MPS students surveyed in 1986-87 by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee graded the system above average, that is, A or B.

A 1988 survey by MPS of 1,762 high school students found only 49% "satisfied" with their high school experience.

Evidence from interviews with the best in the Class of 1987 indicate that the discouraging results for low-performing students extend to high performers too.

In April 1988, the Milwaukee Sentinel published interviews with valedictorians from the MPS Class of 1987. The majority expressed fundamental doubts about the adequacy of their preparation for higher education.

> "I entered calculus class (at UW-Oshkosh) and got blown away. It was way over my head, " said the 1987 Pulaski valedictorian.
>
> "With my grade point average (at UW-Madison), there's no way I'll ever make it in medical school," said the Custer valedictorian. Describing her freshman chemistry course at Madison, she said, "I was struggling from the first semester...it was supposed to be review, but it wasn't review for me."

> The valedictorian at Marshall High regretted not enrolling in more challenging courses at Marshall: "I took some normal classes, and the quality of those was disgusting."
>
> The Juneau valedictorian, who received a 2.0 in his first semester at college, said "the teachers (at Juneau) really didn't stress reading, and when I went to college, I had to do a lot of reading."

These and other comments reflected typical, but not unanimous opinion.

Valedictorians from Vincent, Bay View, and North Division were pleased with their high school education. Co-valedictorians from the city's top school, Rufus King, also were pleased, although the top student at the other leading high school, Milwaukee Tech, felt unprepared for the challenge of an Ivy League education.

The Learning Climate

Marshall High junior April DornBrook recently received an award for an essay she wrote describing education in MPS. She said:

> "The Milwaukee Public Schools are in dire need of improvement...Currently, the school environment is not one that caters to learning...there are too many students unwilling to learn, preventing others from receiving their education. The learning environment must be improved...positive educational surroundings would ultimately draw a wealth of successes out of the students."

Ms. Dornbrook's comments coincide with observations of other visitors to MPS high schools.

In 1985, Study Commission research teams made weeklong visits to 12 schools, including two Milwaukee high schools. One high school was a specialty school; the other was one of the ten traditional schools.

The team that visited the traditional school included senior members of the Study Commission staff, among them holders of doctoral degrees and experienced in site study evaluation. Considerable interviewing and other information gathering preceded the visit. Excerpts from the 30-page report and evaluation follow ("The High Schools: Four Case Studies," November 1, 1985, Staff Report #11 to the Study Commission):

> "When administrators were asked to describe the educational climate...one described it by saying that this school was not the first choice for many...but that it was the 'best of the other [traditional, non-specialty] schools' ...
>
> "When asked to gauge the effectiveness of the school [one administrator] said, "It's about 50% on a good day."
>
> "All four administrators identified attendance issues as one of the main problems...school reports list attendance at about 76% to 82% based on a count taken during the third hour...the case study team found many classes with 50% or less of the students in attendance..."

The report also described what school personnel reported as a typical attendance scenario: students arrive and stay long enough to get access to the weekly bus pass "so they would have transportation for the week." Such students might leave by the second or third hour, "hang out" at a few malls and return to school "so they can go home with their friends...and give the appearance that they have been in school all day."

In a section on teachers and job satisfaction, the case study said:

> "Malaise may be too strong to characterize the general climate of school C, but the word certainly came to mind after several days of teacher interviews revealed a clear lack of optimism and enthusiasm."

A reporter's experience at another high school shows similar results. In April, a former teacher and now education reporter for the Milwaukee Journal taught for several days in a traditional Milwaukee high school. Following the reporter's articles, a May 9 Journal editorial stated:

> "Welcome to high school, where videos are taught instead of literature, where reading is sometimes considered 'too open-ended, too unstructured' for even the good students, where pencils and paper must be passed out because students fail to bring supplies...If there is a theme in all this, it is that expectations are low, and students meet those expectations.
>
> "...all too many teachers lapse into what some educators call the culture of low expectations...if teachers assume that students will report to class without pencils and paper, then students will report to class without pencils and paper.
>
> "Expectations must change. Teachers must demand more of students. Administrators, meanwhile, must see to it that teachers have time to teach...."

Employer Attitudes

A leading public policy goal of Milwaukee's new elected leaders is neighborhood development and jobs, rather than public assistance, for inner city residents.

An equally serious problem appears to be the lack of educated workers.

The president of a major manufacturing employer in Milwaukee recently noted that although his firm had entry level positions for high school graduates, he no longer relied on MPS graduates to meet his needs. He now hires primarily suburban graduates who do not plan to attend college.

The jobs available start at $15,000 to $20,000 a year. After two or three years, with overtime, a high school graduate in his or her early twenties could make more than $30,000 a year.

The executive described a basic decline in work attitudes and values among MPS students as a major part of the problem. He also said his processes were becoming more sophisticated and required workers with solid preparation in basic math and communication skills. (Source: personal interview.)
How widespread are the concerns expressed by this business executive?

In 1987, the Milwaukee Sentinel reported results of 190 employer responses to a survey on public school graduates. Principal findings:

> -48% agreed that "students graduating from MPS are not prepared to enter the job market." Some 30% disagreed; 22% had no opinion.
>
> -60% said they do not "tend to favor job applicants from MPS over applicants from suburban schools." Some 37% tend to favor MPS applicants; 3% had no opinion.
>
> -the most frequent reasons for terminating recently hired high school graduates were: poor attendance (41%); poor attitude (25%); and lack of skills to perform the job (23%).

Teacher, Parent & Public Opinion

The 1987 UW-Milwaukee survey of students also polled parents and teachers. They were asked to grade MPS schools on an A-B-C-D-F scale. Table III-15 shows the results:

Table III-15

Per Cent of Teachers and Parents Grading MPS A-B-C-D-F 1986-87

Grade	% Teachers	% Parents
A	1.2	9.8
B	15.5	30.7
C	44.7	42.1
D	28.8	10.7
F	9.1	6.5

Interpretation of these results depends on acceptability of a school system with a grade of C. Assuming most parents and teachers want their children in a system graded B or A, the evaluation by teachers and parents of MPS is low. Nearly 83% of teachers graded the system C or lower. The survey also asked teachers if they would want their child in the school at which they teach. More than 60% said no.

Jared Johnson was recently elected to the Milwaukee School Board representing the largely black, inner city Fourth District. In April, he released "A Working Policy Agenda for School Board District #4", a document based on interviews he and volunteers conducted immediately after his election.

Johnson's paper summarizes seven constituent concerns and priorities: 1) enhancing academic achievement; 2) multicultural curriculum development; 3) teacher/staff inservice for a culturally diverse student population; 4) the plight of black and hispanic males including a need for mentors and role models; 5) parental, community, and public involvement; 6) minority business participation; and 7) parental choice.

Most goals relate primarily to academic achievement:

> "A recurring constituent concern was the low level of achievement among MPS's minority and poor students -- Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. There is a strongly held view that current MPS programs are not meeting the needs.
>
> "Although several respondents expressed optimism about the recent changes in the MPS organization, they do not currently see any specific connection between those changes and increased academic achievement
>
> "Many [respondents] feel that a substantial number of MPS teachers, across all racial and gender groups, do not really believe that all students can learn...
>
> "Teachers, administrators, and other school staff should be helped to accept new collaborative roles whereby parents are more substantially involved in school matters. Teachers, in particular, must accept parental empowerment...
>
> "Overwhelmingly, 4th District parents, citizens, and community leaders expressed a strong desire for 'school choice'. However, they firmly rejected the voucher plan proposed by Governor Thompson, but they did not feel they had enough choice in the selection of the schools that their children attended. They wanted more schools to offer programs similar to those found in specialty schools."

These conclusions are generally consistent with extensive and scientific public opinion polling in Milwaukee and the metropolitan area. From January 1988, to January 1989, the Gordon S. Black Corporation conducted three statewide polls of 1,000 residents each, including a substantial number of questions related to public education.

In an April 1989, report summarizing the polling, Black states:

> "Milwaukee's educational system is clearly a system that is in trouble...In Milwaukee, 72% of the residents view the system as only fair or poor, contrasted to 27% statewide...in Madison only 9% rate local education as only fair or poor, indicating that substantially higher ratings are possible.
>
> "In Milwaukee, only 24% would choose the public schools" over nonpublic if they did not have to pay extra

Black reports "55% to 60% of the [Milwaukee] residents favor [a 'voucher'] proposal. As one might expect, support is particularly strong among those people with the least choice-- the poor, Blacks, disadvantaged..."

(Source: "The Lack of Confidence in Public Education in Wisconsin," by Gordon S. Black, Ph.D., Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, Volume 2, No. 4, April 1989.)

Part B. MPS Specialty Schools

History of Specialty Schools. MPS specialty schools, formerly called magnet schools, began as part of the plan to implement the 1976 federal court order that MPS desegregate.

Some schools designated as specialty schools previously were black neighborhood schools in the inner city. The goal was to create examples of academic excellence which would: encourage city and suburban whites to bus voluntarily to the inner city; minimize the possibility of "white flight" from Milwaukee's effort to integrate; and demonstrate that integrated urban schools could succeed.

In discussing specialty schools in Milwaukee and elsewhere, Douglas Archbald and John Witte wrote in Staff Report # 5 to the Study Commission:

> "The use of mandatory busing to achieve racial desegregation remains an unpopular and politically precarious policy...Voluntary approaches to racial integration, usually called 'magnet' schools, have gained in popularity...The condition of 'voluntarism' is a major source of their appeal. Magnet schools replace the element of compulsion entailed in mandatory busing with a marketplace of educational alternatives, and present the possibility of achieving both integrated and improved education on a voluntary basis."

The above analysis by Witte and Archbald parallels the rationale for the city-suburban transfer portion of Chapter 220 outlined in section IV.

Who Attends Specialty Schools? Students who attend these schools differ from students at traditional MPS schools. This section examines these differences and their relationship to achievement.

Specialty schools are integrated, as are most traditional MPS schools in MPS. Race or racial integration would not appear to be factors in explaining the higher performance of specialty schools compared to traditional schools.

What other factors might be relevant? Study Commission research addressed factors which **correlate** with academic achievement.

Research included more than 200 schools in 22 districts. For schools in 15 districts, researchers compiled comparable achievement test data for second, fifth, seventh, and tenth grades. For these schools and many schools in the remaining districts, researchers assembled significant performance data about schools, students, and teachers. (See "Correlates of Educational Performance," Staff Report # 6 to the Study Commission.)

Principal findings (see p. 60-61):

> **1.** "The relationship between...low income and [academic] performance is strong...
>
> **2.** "...size of the school enrollment and the student-teacher ratio had weak relationships with [academic] performance...teachers (particularly elementary teachers) often expressed the need for smaller classes and smaller

schools...these data show no discernible relationship between enrollment or student-teacher ratios and any performance measure."

> **3.** "Perceptions and attitudes of teachers consistently related to performance at all levels. This study clearly demonstrates a strong relationship between job satisfaction or teacher morale and student test scores...similarly, we have strong evidence at the middle and elementary levels that an effective school, which in the eyes of teachers has strong leadership, standards, expectations, and teamwork, performs better with students from **low and higher income** homes and in the city and suburbs. That result approaches significance at the high school level." (emphasis added)
>
> **4.** "Finally, both the frequency of parental contacts and how effective teachers judge those contacts to be are very consistently related to our measures of performance...in general, at schools where teachers report parental contact to be effective and frequent, test scores are higher, failures and dropouts fewer, and attendance rates higher...**teachers' perceptions of the relationship of parents to their schools is the most consistent indicator of performance that we analyzed - at all schools, in both city and suburbs."** (emphasis added)

Categories one, two and four were found to have significant correlation with achievement.

Of these significant factors, which might be **CAUSAL**?

Low family income would appear not to be causal. Empirical and anecdotal evidence seems clear on this point. Much evidence is from non-public schools, although such public schools as in East Harlem show high achievement from students from very poor families.

In Milwaukee, three examples are Urban Day School, Highland Community School, and Bruce-Guadalupe Community School.

> **Urban Day School is a K-8 school with 368 students. The student body is 85% black and 94% minority. The school estimates two-thirds of the students are from low income families.**

Table III-16 represents 1988-89 achievement test scores (Iowa Test of Basic Skills, 1982 norm year) for Grades 2, 5, and 7.

Table III-16

1988-89 ITBS Achievement Test Scores
Urban Day School

	Grade 2	Grade 5	Grade 7	Total
% below 24th %ile	23	6	0	10
% above 50th %ile	55	50	55	53
% above 76th %ile	27	36	15	26

Source: Urban Day School, Elementary Test Scores, May 1989.

These scores are substantially higher than MPS black scores and higher than MPS systemwide averages.

Urban Day collects followup data on its 8th grade graduates. More than 90% graduate from high school. This compares favorably with some suburban districts and **substantially** exceeds MPS systemwide graduation rates. Almost half of the typical freshman class at a traditional MPS high school will not graduate.

Highland Community School is a K-3 school with an emphasis on Montessori programming. A January 1989, evaluation conducted by Seneca Associates of Milwaukee included the following information:

Table III-17

Excerpts from Highland Community School Evaluation January, 1989

Student Body Studied	38 students
Black	65%
Hispanic	10%
Asian	3%
White	23%
Income Level	
Above Poverty	27%
Below Poverty	73%
Test Scores At or Above National Average	
Reading	82%
English	55%
Math	77%
Median Days Absent	4

> Source: "Evaluation Report #2, Family Outreach Project" January 1989, Compiled by Seneca Associates, Janice K. Wilberg, Ph.D., Aaron Cohen, M.S. Highland has a total of 65 students; the above evaluation covered a sample of 38.

Followup studies by the 20-year old school show high school graduation rates of Highland students in **excess of 90%.**

> **Bruce-Guadalupe is a K-8 school with an enrollment of 200. Eighty percent of its student body is low-income. The ethnic makeup is 70% Hispanic, 20% black, 5% white, and 5% Native American.**

Table III-18 lists 1988 standardized achievement test results (Metropolitan Achievement Test) reported by Bruce-Guadalupe.

Table III-18

Bruce-Guadalupe Community School
Metropolitan Achievement Test Results
Percent at or above 50th %ile

Reading	49%
Math	59%
Language	66%
Composite	56%

Source: Bruce-Guadalupe Community School

As with Urban Day and Highland, Bruce-Guadalupe reports a 90% high school completion rate for its graduates.

Distinguishing factors at Urban Day. Highland, and Bruce-Guadalupe include a requirement that parents volunteer for school activities. Parents also serve on various school governing committees. The staff makes a concerted, effective effort to sustain parent participation. Staff and parents exhibit a particularly high level of expectation for student performance. The atmosphere in the schools is positive to learning. In some of these ways, the schools share organizational characteristics with smaller suburban districts.

Evidence from Urban Day, Highland, and many other published examples indicates the most important causal variables are teacher morale and expectations and parental involvement. Despite low income, these factors **cause** outcomes far better than those which would be predicted if income was the sole variable.

The logical conclusion is that a correlation might exist between low income and low parent involvement, which in turn appears to correlate with low teacher morale, a relationship which results in predictable outcomes. This supports the view that parent involvement and attendant variables can be viewed not only as causal, but as factors about which something can be done: an uninvolved parent can become involved.

What is known about students attending MPS specialty schools? Three categories of **available and relevant** information are:

-Percent of students at a school eligible for **free lunch** -- a reliable proxy for low income.

-The **mobility rate** -- a measure of the rate at which students enter or leave the school in a year. Mobility equals number of students entering plus number leaving divided by total enrollment. Mobility can indicate instability in the lives of students.

-**Attendance.** Attendance reflects parental involvement and responsibility for student participation in school activities.

The importance of attendance was discussed in Staff Report #4 to the Study Commission:

> "MPS has studied the relationship between grade point average and attendance....There is almost a straight, linear relationship between attendance and GPAs for whites and non-whites. And the magnitude of the decline [in GPA] is very large" when attendance drops.

Using these three criteria, the three tables which follow compare specialty schools and systemwide MPS numbers at the elementary, middle, and high school levels.

Table III-19

Student Characteristics at Elementary Specialty Schools

	% Free Lunch	% Mobility	% Attendance
LANGUAGE IMMERSION			
88TH Street	30.7	22.6	93.7
82ND Street	22.1	5.0	95.5
55TH Street	33.1	4.9	95.5
MONTESSORI			
MacDowell	37.7	4.9	95.5
Greenfield	31.8	3.4	94.5
CREATIVE ARTS			
Elm	36.8	1.9	95.2
GIFTED & TALENTED			
Meir	25.9	0.8	96.1
OTHER			
Morgandale	46.9	13.0	94.2
Townsend	34.1	7.5	95.4
Hawley	55.5	5.9	93.8
Lloyd	46.7	2.8	93.8
Garfield	**68.1**	16.2	93.7
38th Street	58.5	6.9	95.4
21st Street	53.3	3.9	92.8
SYSTEMWIDE (ELEM)	**61.1**	**30.9**	**92.8**

SOURCE: Various tables, 1987-88 School/Student Statistical Profile.

With the exception of Garfield, the specialty schools have fewer low income students than traditional schools. On all other comparisons, the measures of income, mobility, and attendance are positive. Because the systemwide numbers include the specialty school totals, the actual disparity is greater .

Also noteworthy:

-the relative advantage of fewer low income students, lower mobility and higher attendance in Language Immersion, Montessori, Arts, and Gifted and Talented schools.

-the striking figure of **31% mobility systemwide** . More must be known about this number, its causes, and the ability of the system to ameliorate it. It suggests a degree of flux within many schools that must serve to undermine the learning environment. State Representative Barbara Notestein has initiated a review of this issue.

Table III-20

Students at Middle Specialty Schools

	% Free Lunch	% Mobility	% Attendance
Steuben	**59.5**	8.3	91.9
Roosevelt	39.7	5.4	93.3
Morse	34.4	5.0	94.2
8th Street	52.0	5.3	93.5
Walker	**69.0**	**29.3**	**87.9**
Wright	46.3	16.4	91.0
Robinson	**60.7**	6.1	92.2
SYSTEMWIDE (MIDDLE)	**58.1**	**22.1**	**90.1**

Source: Various tables, School/Student Statistical Profile

Only Walker compares unfavorably to systemwide averages. For the other six schools, 16 of 18 possible comparisons are statistically advantageous to higher achievement.

Systemwide mobility, while lower than for elementary schools, is still quite high. The gap between specialty and systemwide totals is striking.

Table III-21

Students at High School Specialty Schools

	% Free Lunch	% Mobility	% Attendance
High School of the Arts	35.4	17.6	88.9
King ("College Bound")	19.3	4.8	95.2
Milwaukee Tech	30.5	5.8	93.9
Riverside ("University High")	39.1	23.1	89.2
SYSTEMWIDE (HIGH)	**41.0**	**30.6**	**85.3**

SOURCES: Various tables, School/Student Statistical Profile; descriptors for King and Riverside are from MPS Info # 45, January, 1986.

Note: The difference between (1) King and Tech and (2) Riverside and the High School for the Arts might be explained by the relatively recent (1985) designation of the latter as specialty schools.

In all instances the four high schools compare favorably with systemwide averages. Note the high mobility rate and the low attendance rate systemwide -- **the equivalent of missing 1.5 days of school every two weeks.**

In summary, for the three criteria selected, at elementary, middle, and high school, the specialty schools compare favorably to systemwide data on 69 of 75 possible comparisons. Excluding Walker Middle School, 69 of 72 comparisons -- 96% -- are favorable.

These data show integration is one of few characteristics the specialty schools share with traditional MPS schools. The data help explain why students at specialty schools perform better. These are students from families which took initiative to enroll them, have higher incomes, appear more stable, and seem to insist on better attendance. These parents are likely to display the involvement the Study Commission research found so important.

Why do demographic characteristics of students at these 25 schools differ so uniformly from more than 100 other schools?

MPS Info # 45, January, 1986, under the heading "Entrance policies for some schools" states:

> "Any student who has a sincere interest and believes he/she has the ability to succeed in a [specialty] program should be given the opportunity to enroll in such a school program. Prior to submitting an application for a [specialty] program, it is imperative that good guidance practices are followed so there is a reasonable expectation that the student will meet with success. The student and parent will be provided with information that clearly outlines...expectations...and course requirements...once...enrolled, the student must demonstrate acceptable progress..."

(This policy is reiterated in the 1989-90 MPS student assignment manual.)

The 1986 MPS bulletin describes certain gifted and talented academic requirements, as well as limits on admission to certain elementary programs to those entering at first grade or kindergarten. For Rufus King High School, the bulletin states that "Students who have maintained a "C" average or better [in middle school], good attendance, and good conduct at their present schools will find success at Rufus King."

Professor Witte, in his 1986 paper, said:

> "Enrollment in district wide specialty schools is a complex formal process. Trying to understand the process is even more complex. In January of each year, students [who choose the process] begin by listing three choices. Entrance...is affected by racial balance, prior enrollment, and in some cases by prior school achievement and test scores.
>
> "The school district maintains that, with the exception of gifted and talented schools, within racial categories selection is random for those choosing the school. However, during the (1984-85) period of this study, there was clearly review of student records involved in selection to the high schools, and there was also a consistent pattern of counselling students into schools that counsellors felt matched their ability. Also, if students receive poor grades they [might] not be allowed to continue in some specialty schools...

> "One result of this selection process was clear - there were a disproportionate number of non-low income students in specialty schools [compared to regular schools]..."

The principal of Milwaukee Tech High School described the impact of admission screening. He said the main result of the school policy of accepting middle school students with "C" averages or better was to reduce disciplinary problems. He compared Milwaukee Tech with other traditional high schools where he devoted most of his time to discipline-related problems. At Tech, he said, discipline requires much less than half his time and gives him "a chance to be an instructional leader."

Admission criteria for specialty schools, a perennial topic at MPS, is being reviewed as part of the student assignment project described in Section II. The School Board has adopted policies in recent years intended to make selection and assignment more random.

Suburban Transfers to Specialty Schools

Another factor in the enrollment at specialty schools is the transfer of white suburban students through the city-suburban portion of Chapter 220. More than 1,000 students will transfer next year.

The primary policy goal of these transfers is to promote racial balance. A side effect is to reduce the number of slots available to MPS residents in specialty schools. Table III-21 shows the impact of this at nearly two dozen specialty schools as of the end of the first enrollment period for 1989-90.

Table III-22

Specialty School Enrollment
Blacks on Waiting List vs. Suburban Students Accepted
1989-90

	Blacks on Waiting List	Suburban Students Accepted	Seats Lost to Suburban Transfers
Elementary	504	55	55
Middle	141	348	141
High School	185	557	185
	Total Seats Lost		**381**

Source: Waiting list and acceptance tables compiled by MPS school assignment personnel.

Achievement at Specialty Schools

What is the impact of the formal and informal screening used by MPS to determine specialty school enrollment?

For 1987-88, this study reviewed standardized test data for the elementary, middle, and high schools. Course failure rates and grade points were reviewed for high schools.

White students outperformed the systemwide averages in every respect.

For black students, data were available to make 43 comparisons with systemwide averages. **Black students at the specialty schools exceeded the averages in 34 cases.** In the nine cases where blacks were not above average, they attend schools with little statistical "advantage" over systemwide schools vis a vis free lunch, mobility, and attendance.

Also evident is that, while black performance at specialty schools is above many MPS norms, the gap between white and black students at specialty schools often is very similar, in relative terms, to the gap between black and white students at traditional schools.

The last finding continues a disturbing reality documented in the Study Commission report and described by Professor Witte in 1986:

> "Finally, although black children in specialty schools clearly do better than regular school black children, it is only when blacks attend specialty schools and are also from non-low income families that their test scores approach or exceed the poorest performing white students (low-income white students in regular schools).
>
> "Thus, while specialty schools may be a start in the right direction, their success is tempered by economic class...that, plus the "special" nature of these schools, limits their effectiveness as a vehicle for greater equality in educational achievement."

Movement from the City of Milwaukee

As described in Section II, one MPS goal in developing the busing program was to diminish the possibility of "white flight" in response to school integration. A trend of reduced white school population had been evident from at least 1968. Table III-22 shows enrollment in selected years.

Table III-23

MPS Enrollment
Selected Years

	Black	White	Other*	Total**
1968	32,132	94,642	4,154	130,928
1975	39,250	68,671	6,259	114,180
1977	41,109	54,091	6,726	101,926
1980	41,699	39,373	7,760	88,832
1984	46,252	33,604	10,023	89,879
1988	52,908	30,578	12,804	96,290

Source: 1987/88 School/Student Statistical Profile

*includes 3,327 Hispanic students in 1968 and 8,090 in 1988

**includes minority transfers to suburbs under chapter 220 for years 1977, 1980, 1984, and 1988

An MPS report in 1984-85 on academic achievement contained the assumption that the drop in white enrollment reflected, at least in part, an "out-migration of more able white pupils." (MPS School Profiles, 1984-85) The same report noted that, at the time, there was no data to indicate an accompanying drop in white achievement.

This study has reported data which begins to show a drop in white achievement at the high school level between 1984 and 1988. At several high schools, white GPAs are down, percents of courses failed are up, and standardized test scores are down.

One possibility is that white achievement is down because middle and upper income families are moving from Milwaukee. All other things being equal, students from these families would be more likely to show higher achievement levels.

In 1987, the Department of City Development completed a "Recent Mover Study" which included the following description of method and results:

> "Based on research of city property records conducted by DCD, there were an estimated 3,890 sales of owner-occupied single and duplex properties in 1986, excluding foreclosures, estate sales, transfers of property between spouses

> because of divorce, sales by investors and multiple owners, and sales by people who went into nursing homes.
>
> "DCD drew a sample of these movers and obtained forwarding addresses from the U.S. Postal Service for 1,361 recent mover households. DCD sent questionnaires to these recent movers and received responses from 63%...
>
> "Results...About half of the households (51%) moved to the suburbs. Eighteen per cent moved out of the metro area...31% stayed in the city.
>
> "Those households who moved to the suburbs were asked to identify the factors which influenced their decision...the number one factor was concern about the city's public schools, which was identified as the most important factor by 23% of the households who moved to the suburbs." (39% said it was either the first or second most important factor, the highest such rating for any factor.)
>
> "...Over half the home sellers who moved to the suburbs have children under 18...the percentages of households with children under 5 years old [or] with children 5-12 years old is twice as high among households who moved to the suburbs than among households who stayed in the city."

The study did not report on racial composition of those surveyed. It is assumed the majority of families moving from Milwaukee were white.

This manifestation of public opinion about education has significant implications for Milwaukee, particularly goals of the community's new leadership for neighborhood development and integration.

CONCLUSIONS

This review of MPS traditional and specialty schools used as its primary base the 1983-84 school year, a year for which extraordinary data are available and during which most MPS students who entered MPS at the start of integration were about to enter high school.

This section introduced substantial 1988 data, mostly for high school, but also for middle school and elementary school students. The purpose was to evaluate whether up to 12 years of racial integration produced meaningful gains in absolute black achievement and in closing the black/white achievement gap.

This section also included new information highlighting the sharp distinction in economic and family stability between students at specialty and regular schools.

The assembled information leads to the following conclusions:

- **Racial balance, as a strategy to improve academic achievement, has not worked in Milwaukee.**

- **A system of educational and economic segregation has replaced racial segregation in Milwaukee Public Schools.** Systematically, many students deemed likely to succeed have been separated from others. The system has served to identify students where parental influence, family income, and general stability make success more likely.

- **White achievement at several high schools declined from 1984 to 1988.** This might relate to an "out-migration" of white families, which MPS alludes to and which a separate survey also indicates.

SECTION IV

MINORITY ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT: THE CITY-SUBURBAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

For 13 years, the State of Wisconsin has paid the education and transportation costs of placing Milwaukee minority students in suburban public schools. Suburban white students have transferred to MPS as well.

Payments to suburban districts total $79.9 million, including DPI estimates for 1988-89. The state has paid an additional $44.8 million to MPS for city-suburban transportation costs.

Table IV-1 shows the impact of the city-suburban program on suburban enrollment. Suburban districts include the 23 participants in the Chapter 220 program.

Table IV-1

Suburban Enrollment
1988-89

Enrollment	68,493
Minority Enrollment	7,193
Resident Minority	2,889
MPS Transfers	4,294
% Minority W/Out 220 Transfers	4.4%
% Minority W/ 220 Transfers	10.5%

Source: Table I, page 8, Compact for Educational Opportunity, Chapter 220 Transportation Study, May 1989.

This section focuses on the academic achievement of the transfer students. The analysis draws on data assembled for this study and other sources identified below.

Summary of Principal Findings and Conclusions

Section III described a dual system *within* MPS, composed of specialty and traditional schools. This Section supports a redefinition of that dual system as follows:

-one system of MPS traditional schools, attended by 78% of MPS blacks; and

- a second system of MPS specialty schools *and* suburban schools, attended by 22% of MPS blacks (16% in specialty schools and 6% in suburban schools.)

Black and other minority students transferring to suburban schools are most similar, demographically, to their counterparts in MPS specialty schools. They differ most greatly, in demographic terms, from blacks in MPS traditional schools.

The patterns of black and black/white achievement in suburban schools are as follows:

- Achievement of blacks who transfer to the suburbs most closely resembles black achievement in MPS specialty schools.

- Blacks who transfer to suburbs do better than blacks in MPS traditional schools.

- Black/white achievement gaps in the suburbs are similar to those which exist in the city, at specialty schools and between specialty and traditional schools.

Formal and informal screening into specialty and suburban schools isolates in traditional MPS schools a disproportionate number of students from homes with: relatively low income; instability; and low parent involvement. The low expectations of many MPS educators, the isolation of these students in the system, and their difficult home circumstances contribute to the educational failures in these schools.

Definitions, Attendance & Data Base

Chapter 220 and **Chapter 220 Students**. Most Chapter 220 money is spent on **intra**district transfers **within Milwaukee.** See Sections II and III. In this section, Chapter 220 and Chapter 220 students refer to transfers between the city and suburbs, also referred to as **inter**district transfers.

Minority. A minority group pupil eligible to transfer from city to suburbs is defined by statute to include blacks, hispanics, orientals, and native American Indians. For 1988-89, 79% of transferring minorities are black.

Attendance

Chapter 220 attendance at suburban schools has undergone two basic phases.

- Between its creation in 1976 and the eighth year of operation (1983-84), participation grew to only 1,107. A core of ten suburban districts enrolled 93.5% of those students.

- Since 1983-84, enrollment has grown rapidly. Participating districts rose to 23 from 16. Current transfers total 4,294. The 1983-84 "core" suburban districts now have 52.9% of total transfers. The metropolitan integration lawsuit was filed in 1984 and settled in 1987.

Table IV-2 compares minority transfers in 1983-84 with 1988-89.

Table IV-2

Minority 220 Transfers (1984 vs 1989)

	# of transfers 1983-84	% of 83-4	# of transfers 1988-89	% of 88-9
IN-COUNTY				
Brown Deer	97	8.8	154	3.6
Cudahy	0	0.0	176	4.1
Fox Point #2	55	5.0	129	3.0
Fox Point #8	50	4.5	90	2.1
Franklin	3	0.3	219	5.1
Glendale #1	73	6.6	119	2.8
Greendale	74	6.7	241	5.6
Greenfield	5	0.5	250	5.8
Nicolet UHS	125	11.3	210	4.9
Oak Creek	44	4.0	199	4.6
St. Francis	13	1.2	94	2.2
Shorewood	134	12.1	259	6.0
So.Milwaukee	22	2.0	262	6.1
Wauwatosa	259	23.4	619	14.4
West Allis	4	0.4	328	7.6
Whitefish Bay	124	11.2	253	5.9
Whitnall	25	2.3	283	6.6
OUT-COUNTY				
Elmbrook	0	0.0	55	1.3
Germantown	0	0.0	1	0.02
Men. Falls	0	0.0	201	4.7
Mequon	0	0.0	115	2.7
New Berlin	0	0.0	34	0.8
Hamilton	0	0.0	3	0.06
Total	**1,107**		**4294**	

Sources: "Chapter 220 Report for 1987-88 and 1988-89," Milwaukee Public Schools, and "School Integration (Chapter 220) Aids, State of Wisconsin" Legislative Fiscal Bureau, 1987.

Note: In addition to minority transfers, 296 white suburban students transferred to Milwaukee in 1984; this year the total is 972.

The Data Base. The data base consists of information prepared by others and original information assembled for this report.

A partial list of information prepared by others includes:

> "Voluntary Desegregation in Wisconsin," Professor William J. Kritek, Integrated Education. Nov/Dec. 1977.
>
> "Metropolitan Desegregation in Wisconsin -- Chapter 220 after 3 Years." Professor Kritek, UW-Milwaukee, 1979.

"Chapter 220 -- A Study of the Academic Achievement of Minority Interdistrict Transfer Pupils," a doctoral thesis by Nancy Sidon Smuckler, UW-Milwaukee, 1984.

"A Review of the Chapter 220 Integration Aids Program," State of Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau, 1984.

Staff Reports to the Study Commission, 1985.

"Race and Metropolitan Educational Inequalities in Milwaukee: Evidence and Implications," Professor John Witte, UW-Madison Department of Political Science, draft prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research, University of Chicago, September, 1986.

"School Integration (Chapter 220) Aids, State of Wisconsin," informational papers prepared in 1987 and 1989 by Dan Clancy, Wisconsin Legislative Fiscal Bureau.

"Some Socio-Psychological Factors in the Prediction of Academic Success of Minority Students in Desegregated Settings," a doctoral thesis by Karen Renee Jackson, UW-Milwaukee, 1988.

"Chapter 220 Report for 1987-88 and 1988-89," Milwaukee Public Schools, 1989.

Transcripts and exhibits from the MPS-Suburban District trial (1987) regarding the testimony of MPS expert witness Michael Stolee regarding student selection practices of suburban school districts. Provided by Hogan & Hartson, Washington DC lawyers for MPS in connection with school integration matters.

Information originated for this study includes:

- Achievement data on standardized tests for minority transfer students in 1987-88 attending: Menomonee Falls; Nicolet UHS; the three elementary/middle feeder schools to Nicolet (Fox Point #2 and #8 and Glendale #1); Franklin; and Whitnall.

  These districts had 30% of transfers in 1987-88. The data on test scores, broken down by resident students, Chapter 220 students, and other categories, is one of the most extensive assemblies of Chapter 220 achievement data.

- Data on free lunch participation by transferring minority students in 15 districts, accounting for about two-thirds of Chapter 220 students in 1987-88.

- Data from nine suburban districts on private schools attended by some Chapter 220 students prior to transferring to the suburb; these nine districts had about 45% of Chapter 220 students last year.

- Interviews with seven district officials in northern, western, and southern suburbs regarding student mobility rates . See earlier discussion in Section III.

Despite the significant amount of data, the data base does not approach the comprehensive information available on MPS schools. Issues regarding availability of data for the suburban portion of the Chapter 220 program are reviewed in Section V.

The remainder of this section reviews: (1) suburban school performance; (2) the research of Drs. Kritek, Smuckler, and Jackson; and (3) demographic and academic achievement data originated for this report.

PART A. SUBURBAN PUBLIC SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

Academic achievement in suburban public schools is higher than in MPS. The validity of this generally held assumption is reinforced by the research of the 1984-85 Study Commission and subsequent reports on achievement by the Public Policy Forum. The study found most suburban districts to be more effectively organized to carry out education, in terms of issues pertaining to school-based autonomy. The learning climate in suburban schools was substantially more positive than that in traditional MPS schools studied by the Commission. The study also confirmed that suburban students come from homes with higher income than in MPS.

Staff Report #4 to the Study Commission states that, "in comparison to national norms, suburban Milwaukee students at all grade levels were doing very well...Milwaukee students as a whole did considerably less well...than the average suburban student. However, the majority of MPS students were above the national median on reading and math in second grade, and math in the fifth and seventh grades."

Staff Report #4 compared the percentage of MPS students exceeding the national test averages to suburban students. Subtracting MPS percentages from suburban percentages resulted in gaps ranging from 28 to 36 percentage points.

Other comparisons of MPS to suburban high schools showed the percent of courses failed was substantially lower in suburban schools; GPAs were correspondingly higher; attendance was higher; and dropouts rates were much lower.

The perception of higher academic achievement in suburban schools, rather than integration, appears to be the principal explanation for strong and increasing interest among minority Milwaukee parents in the Chapter 220 program. As established in Section III, an integrated education already is available within MPS.

In a 1977 article, Professor Kritek stated that "It seems clear that the most compelling reason for a parent to have a son or daughter transfer to the suburbs was a desire for a 'better' education; it was not *just* to have them attend a desegregated school (Kritek's emphasis)."

Professor Kritek's 1979 study was based in part on surveys of teachers, parents, and students, with response rates ranging from 40% to 90%. Among his findings: the "predominant reason cited by transfer parents for choosing to send their child to suburban schools was so they could get a 'better education'."

This theme also is set forth in Dr. Jackson's 1988 thesis, which states that Chapter 220 participation "assumes an interest in an integrated education, motivation to apply for the program, and parents who value education and hold a belief that a qualitatively better or different educational experience is available in the suburban school districts."

A major question is whether transferring students do better in suburban schools than they might have done in MPS. This and other issues regarding academic achievement are discussed in Parts B and C below.

PART B. FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The three studies cited below occurred, respectively, after the Chapter 220 program was three, seven, and eleven years old.

1. "Metropolitan Desegregation in Wisconsin -- Chapter 220 After 3 Years."

Dr. Kritek's 1979 study appears to represent the most thorough **early** attempt to evaluate the program. His study was commissioned based on interest from "several Milwaukee area school superintendents and the administrator of [the state] Cooperative Education Service Agency" which serves Milwaukee. It was funded by the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.

Regarding academic achievement, the study stated "it is quite clear [suburban] teachers feel the transfer students are at a lower achievement level than the resident students [and] data from standardized tests and grades seem to bear out the teachers' observations....[C]omparison of GPA between transfer students and resident students over a 2.5 year period showed transfer students more than 0.75 grade points below resident students" on a 4.00 scale.

Kritek later stated: "Transfer students are apparently behind their suburban classmates in academic achievement and up to 2.5 years in the Chapter 220 program has not closed that gap appreciably."

2. "Chapter 220 -- A Study of the Academic Achievement of Minority Interdistrict Transfer Pupils."

This 1984 doctoral thesis "investigated the effect of a transfer to a suburban school from a city school on the academic achievement of minority pupils as measured by" standardized achievement test scores and "also sought to determine if the number of years of participation in the transfer program or the grade of entry into the program could affect academic achievement."

The primary research involved comparing 107 minority transfer students, 35 in second grade and 72 in fifth grade with a control group of 56 second grade and 69 fifth grade MPS pupils. The transfer and control groups were matched using 11 criteria, including free lunch, age, attendance, "readiness" scores, remedial aid, and kindergarten experience.

Principal findings of Dr. Smuckler's study were:

> "At the grade two level...transfer to a suburban school did not affect academic achievement. The grade of transfer to a suburban school, and the number of years in the transfer program, did not result in differences in academic achievement. On all analyses there were no significant differences on the verbal as compared to the mathematical subtests. In addition, there was no differential transfer effect on males and females in either the transfer or control groups...

> "At the grade five level all findings with the exception of [gender] differences were identical in that transfer, grade of transfer, and number of years in the transfer program did not result in significant differences on the verbal or mathematical achievement measures."

This means transfers to suburban schools, regardless of the number of years the students spent in the suburban districts, did not positively change test scores for minority transfers.

3. "Some Socio-Psychological Factors in the Prediction of Academic Success of Minority Students in Desegregated Settings."

This doctoral thesis was authored by Karen Renee Jackson, a black educator and administrator in Whitefish Bay, one of the suburban districts that has participated in Chapter 220 since its inception. Dr. Jackson since has been hired to the new position of human relations coordinator in Shorewood Public Schools. Her responsibilities will include Chapter 220 program duties.

A principal goal of her study was to determine the impact on academic achievement of such factors as academic self-concept, self-esteem, and sense of personal control. Specific diagnostic tests were given to students to measure whether they felt: confident of their academic ability; a sense of personal control; and self esteem. The results were then statistically compared with the academic achievement of the students.

A major finding of the study as it related to students who were doing well was that "academic self concept clearly and consistently contributes to the academic success of minority high school students. This finding supports a suggestion in the research literature that a socio-psychological variable [such as academic self-concept] can be an important component in understanding the academic outcomes of students in desegregated academic environments."

Dr. Jackson also reported on students' perceptions that suburban schools were more demanding and had higher expectations than MPS schools.

How well were the students doing? What measurement was used?

The study used high school GPA as the measure of academic achievement. Specifically, it evaluated grades of 346 black Chapter 220 students attending six high schools in five different suburban districts (not including her employer). The students represented more than half of the transfer students attending high school in the five districts.

Dr. Jackson chose the five districts based on their longevity in and presumed commitment to the Chapter 220 program. Three of the districts participated in the program from its inception; the other two started in the second year.

Three of the five districts are among the most academically successful in metropolitan Milwaukee. (While not naming the districts, Dr. Jackson's thesis contains descriptive information which allows them to be identified.)

On a 4.00 scale, average GPAs for students in suburban districts exceed 2.00 and often exceed 2.50 (Study Commission Research). Average GPAs, including those of transfer students, in the five selected districts most likely are at least 2.50. GPAs for resident students almost certainly exceed 2.50.

In contrast, the mean GPA for Chapter 220 students studied by Dr. Jackson was 1.82, or D+/C-. Almost 90% of the students studied were black. The mean GPA for black females was 1.88. The mean GPA for black males was 1.61. For black males, the highest individual GPA was 2.89; for females, 3.22.

Dr. Jackson's study states:

> "Marginal academic achievement is the reality for the majority of the respondents in [the black male] subgroup...
>
> "...as [an overall group], these minority students were not achieving at high levels when a 4.00 scale was used as the standard of comparison...
>
> "If the assumption is made that higher grades reflect higher academic success, then the necessity of improving academic achievement of minority students in the Chapter 220 [program] needs to be addressed."

Based on this study, the disparity in GPA between Chapter 220 and resident students of about 0.75 would appear to be similar to that which existed for the group of students studied in 1979 by Dr. Kritek.

In a March briefing on her thesis before other doctoral candidates, and on a later television show, Dr. Jackson stated that length of time in the Chapter 220 program did not appear to be significant with respect to high school GPA. This appears to parallel the conclusion Dr. Smuckler reached in 1984 regarding elementary students.

Summary of Research

Two aspects of the above research are noteworthy.

First, these researchers did not find evidence of significant academic achievement on the part of transfer students.

Second, their studies were not intended to diminish the program: each researcher has shown support for the goals of the Chapter 220 program:

-Kritek's 1977 article and 1979 study endorse continuing and strengthening the program.

-Smuckler's study says that the absence of evidence about improved academic achievement "should not be used against a program which gives pupils and their parents an educational option that was not previously available...the interdistrict aspect of Chapter 220 has endured and expanded. It is a valued alternative."

-Jackson is a parent of a child in the Chapter 220 program. She spoke very positively of some aspects of Chapter 220 in a doctoral forum held earlier this year, while also stating that "on the whole, [Chapter 220] students aren't achieving the way the 'dream' would have it."

Additional pertinent information was contained in the Study Commission research. When city-suburban achievement data were categorized by racial classifications, three general patterns emerged: (1) suburban whites did better than city whites: (2) city whites outperformed suburban blacks; and (3) suburban blacks exceeded the achievement of city blacks. Professor Witte, in his 1986 paper, spoke of city-suburban racial comparisons as follows:

> "Comparisons between MPS and the suburbs on race or income level are inappropriate. Racial comparisons are invalid because, based on income, student minority populations in the two areas were very different...percentages of low-income students, measured as children qualifying for federal free or reduced-free lunch, were considerably higher at every grade in the city...[compared to the suburbs]
>
> "Suburban minority students are either residents, and mostly middle class, or students who transfer from the city as part of a voluntary state-sponsored program that arose out of court-ordered desegregation. That program [Chapter 220] involves busing white, suburban children into MPS and (many more) minority children to the suburbs.
>
> "Although the data do not allow me to differentiate between Chapter 220 [minority] students and others , it is reasonable to speculate that higher-income, more educated and knowledgeable consumers of education will avail themselves of the opportunity to send their children to suburban schools.
>
> "Regardless of the reasons, it is clear that the suburban minority populations are on average considerably better off than their city counterparts, and thus straightforward comparisons on achievement are very questionable....

PART C. NEW RESEARCH

Research completed for this study includes new information regarding who attends suburban schools through Chapter 220 and their performance on standardized achievement tests.

All 23 participating suburban districts were asked to provide information. Most districts answered questions dealing with matters other than academic achievement. A minority of seven districts provided partial answers to questions on academic achievement. Four districts in their first year of participation had no academic data to report at the time of the request (Elmbrook, Germantown, Hamilton, and New Berlin).

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT -- TEST SCORES

Because of different tests used in different districts, straightforward comparisons between districts might not be warranted. Also, as noted, in some cases the data for Chapter 220 include a very small number of students. The test data are of primary value in comparing achievement of Chapter 220 students and resident students taking the same test.

The following districts provided nationally standardized test information distinguishing the scores of resident and Chapter 220 students:

-Nicolet Union High School;

-the three elementary-middle school districts which are "feeders" to Nicolet (Glendale, Fox Point-Bayside, and Maple Dale-Indian Hills);

-Franklin;

-Whitnall; and

-Menomonee Falls

The School District of Menomonee Falls provided information on resident and Chapter 220 test scores in a different statistical format than those listed above.

A total of 12 other districts chose not to compile and release information which differentiated test scores of resident and Chapter 220 students.

A partial summary of the test data is provided below:

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF MENOMONEE FALLS. For academic year 1987-88, 145 minority students transferred to this district. This was the second year of its participation in the program. The school district provided data on reading and math tests administered in grades 1-4, where Chapter 220 students have been accepted.

The district provided the average score of the students taking the test, on a scale of 1-99. For example, the number 82 for resident students in first grade reading shows an average score of 82. That number is **not** the per cent of students at or above average.

Table IV-3 shows the average scores for math and reading tests.

Table IV-3

Menomonee Falls
SRA Test Results
1987-88 Norms

MATH

GRADE	One	Two	Three	Four
RESIDENT	81	73	76	79
220	53	37	44	35

READING

GRADE	One	Two	Three	Four
RESIDENT	82	74	80	80
220	56	47	57	44

FRANKLIN PUBLIC SCHOOLS. For 1987-88, 175 students attended this district. Franklin is in its sixth year of program participation. The district provided composite data for students in Grades one through eight as follows:

Table IV-4

Franklin
Metropolitan Test
1979 Norms*

Per Cent At/Above National Average (50th%)

	Math	Reading
RESIDENT	91%	84%
220	62%	49%

*Franklin is using 1986 norms for 1988-89 tests.

The scores above relate to 90 students taking the math test and 98 taking the reading test. Information provided by the district indicates that standardized tests are not administered at the high school level.

(The following information deals with the three K-8 "feeder" districts to the Nicolet Union High School District. Data on Nicolet follows these three districts.)

GLENDALE-RIVER HILLS SCHOOLS (Glendale #1). For 1987-88, 121 Chapter 220 students were enrolled. This district has participated in the program since its inception. The district provided data for student test scores at the fourth and sixth grade levels. At the fourth grade, 111 resident and 9 Chapter 220 students were tested; at sixth grade, 103 resident and 9 Chapter 220 students were tested.

Scores shown below are **composite** reading and math scores (the sum of the reading and math scores divided by two). The numeric values represent the per cent of students at or above the national average.

Table IV-5

Glendale-River Hills
ITBS Test*

Composite Reading & Math Scores
% At/Above National Average (50th%)

GRADE	FOUR	SIX
RESIDENT	88%	78%
220	44%	75%

*Norm year not known

MAPLE DALE-INDIAN HILLS (Fox Point # 8). For 1987-88, 86 Chapter 220 students were enrolled. The district has participated since the program's inception. The district provided data for fourth and sixth grade test scores. At fourth grade, 41 resident and 8 Chapter 220 students were tested. At sixth grade, 63 resident and 9 Chapter 220 students were tested.

Composite scores are presented in the same format as for Glendale - River Hills.

Table IV- 6

Maple Dale-Indian Hills
ITBS Test*

Composite Reading & Math Scores
% At/Above National Average (50th%)

GRADE	FOUR	SIX
RESIDENT	92%	81%
220	88%	39%

*Norm year not known

FOX POINT-BAYSIDE (Fox Point #2). For 1987-88, 124 Chapter 220 students were enrolled. The district has participated since the program's inception. The district provided test data for grades 2 through 8.

The table below depicts **composite** math and reading data similar to Glendale - River Hills and Maple Dale - Indian Hills, for the second, fifth, and seventh grades. The number of resident and Chapter 220 students tested, respectively, were: grade two, 67 and 13; grade five, 79 and 14; and grade seven, 60 and 11.

Table IV-7

Fox Point-Bayside
ITBS Test
1978 Norms*

GRADE	TWO	FIVE	SEVEN
RESIDENT	73%	84%	87%
220	54%	64%	50%

*1987-88 last year for 1978 norms

NICOLET UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT. For 1987-88, 221 Chapter 220 students were enrolled. The district has participated from the program's inception. The district provided achievement test data for 306 resident and 52 Chapter 220 student in 11th grade. The table below depicts the percent of students scoring at or above the national average.

Table IV-8

Nicolet Union High School
TAPS Test
1982 Norms

Per Cent At/Above National Average (50th%)

	READING	MATH
RESIDENT	78%	89%
220	60%	69%

The Nicolet District provided considerable additional information regarding achievement. Most of the information was contained in the 1987 and 1988 editions of the "Status Report on Chapter 220" issued to the Nicolet Chapter 220 Planning Council by the district employe responsible for coordinating the program. The report represents a comprehensive, ongoing effort by a suburban district to monitor program activities.

Excerpts from the Nicolet status reports regarding academic achievement follow:

> -**Resident vs. Chapter 220 test scores**. "Standardized test scores...indicate that 220 students are lower in achievement than local students," according to both the 1987 and 1988 reports. The differences range from 0.5 to 1.3 grade levels, depending on the class, i.e., Class of 1992, 1991, etc.
>
> -**Performance groupings.** The district "tracks" students in different performance groups, with initial placement based primarily on 8th grade achievement test results. Within performance groups there are further categories, based on subject matter (English, math, science, and world history).
>
> -No Chapter 220 students were in the English honors group at any grade. Nine of 224 students were in the top two math groups. The majority of Chapter 220 students were in the lower groups for each subject. (Data was not requested regarding the performance grouping of resident students; Chapter 220 students would appear to be disproportionately in lower groups.)
>
> -**Aptitude Levels.** The 1987 and 1988 status reports state that "aptitude scores" for Chapter 220 students range from 1.0 to 1.7 grade levels lower in verbal and non-verbal skills than district residents. Another district, Whitnall, reported on aptitude tests in characterizing the performance of Chapter 220 students. The concept of aptitude testing is discussed further below.

WHITNALL SCHOOL DISTRICT. For 1987-88, 270 Chapter 220 students were enrolled. The district has participated in the program since its second year.

The racial and ethnic makeup of the district's Chapter 220 enrollment is unique from most participating suburban districts. Specifically, in 1988-89, 31% of the transferring students were Asian, compared to a program average 9%. For 1987-88, the year test data were reported, the proportional representation of Asians in Whitnall was similar. (Source: 1987/88 School/Student Statistical Profile, MPS)

Only one other district, New Berlin, has a disproportionate number of Asian Chapter 220 students. New Berlin, in its first year of the program, accepted 34 students of whom 25, or 75% are Asian. The significant Asian representation in Whitnall and New Berlin skews the 9% programwide average for Asian participation; in most districts the Asian participation is several percentage points less than 9%. (Source: 1987/88 School/Student Statistical Profile, MPS)

Whitnall provided the most detailed testing information of any responding district. Data were provided for test scores at grades 1 through 11; 12th graders are not tested. The data was listed by a number of different racial, ethnic, and resident/non-resident categories.

The table below shows **composite** math and reading scores for second, fifth, seventh, and tenth grades, shown as the percentage of resident and Chapter 220 students at or above the national average. (NOTE: Data from Whitnall was submitted showing scores at or above the 51st percentile, rather than the 50th, as used above for other districts.)

Table IV-9

Whitnall
CAT Test
1985 Norms

Per Cent At/Above National Average (51st%)

GRADE	TWO	FIVE	SEVEN	TEN
RESIDENT	79%	79%	80%	66%
220	70%	62%	55%	35%

In all four grades, the composite scores of Asian students exceeded those of black students.

Aptitude Tests

In addition to standardized achievement tests, Nicolet, Whitnall, and several other districts use tests intended to measure ability or aptitude. In the view of some, a student's score on an achievement test can be predicted by first administering an ability test.

William Hittman, Superintendent of Whitnall Schools, holds strongly to this point of view and urged that it be represented in this study.

Whitnall's response to the request for data on academic achievement included detailed comparisons between anticipated scores, based on aptitude tests, and actual scores on achievement tests. This data was provided for black students only, not Asian or residents or other categories.

The actual scores on achievement tests exceeded anticipated scores in a majority of cases, leading Hittman to say at a recent Coordinating Council meeting that "these [black] children are doing wonderfully when compared with their ability." In absolute terms, black test scores at Whitnall were lower than whites in reading [after second grade] and in math [at high school]. Before high school, black scores in math at Whitnall generally were closer to those of white students than in several other districts.

In providing information on achievement tests, Hittman wrote: "...when you compare children's achievement...you [should] compare it to their aptitude and...not compare the racial groups to one another...The self-esteem and emotional feelings of any one of our minority groups does not need to be harmed by a comparison, other than a comparison to a minority group's aptitude or potential."

The use of aptitude tests as predictors of achievement based on inherent ability is controversial. Following Mr. Hittman's comments at the Coordinating Council, some suburban and city members approached him to dispute the validity of this method.

More broadly, experts are divided on the topic. In simplified terms, many testing experts believe the content of so-called aptitude tests has changed to the point where they are most similar to so-called achievement tests. According to this line of thought, performance on either of these tests relies primarily on the importance of prior learning, rather than basic ability. In this sense, the tests tend to function as achievement tests and thus are redundant.

Some experts believe the primary predictive value of tests is in measuring readiness, such as the readiness of a 4-year old or 6-year old for kindergarten or first grade, respectively. In these cases, it is argued, the tests are not measuring ability as much as the level of learning which has occurred prior to entering a particular grade or course.

The use of aptitude tests to explain or predict the performance of racial and ethnic groups is highly questionable. There too many examples in Milwaukee and elsewhere of high academic achievement among groups of students for whom pessimistic "predictions" might appear warranted. **An environment of low expectations and ineffective educational organization are more reliable predictors of poor achievement.**

One scholarly discussion of the aptitude and achievement test issues the reader might find useful is found on pp. 129-139 of Social and Technical Issues in Testing, published in 1984 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. The cited pages are the text of an address at the "State of the Art Series--Achievement Testing," delivered by Anne Anastasi to the 1982 meeting of the American Psychological Association.

DEMOGRAPHIC & SOCIAL VARIABLES: WHO ARE THE TRANSFERRING STUDENTS?

Section III of this report summarized Study Commission research on the correlation of demographic and social variables with academic achievement. Family income, parent involvement, and teacher morale were the three most statistically significant correlates identified by the Study Commission staff in Staff Report #6: Correlates of Educational Performance.

Section III discussed the performance of low income minority students at Urban Day, Highland, and Bruce-Guadalupe community schools. Achievement generally is at or above average at these schools, and associated high school completion rates are high. These schools have organizational characteristics similar in important respects to suburban schools. Based on these and other published examples, low income is determined not to be causal (with respect to achievement) although it probably correlates with variables such as parent involvement and teacher morale/expectations, which are believed causal.

Based on these factors, this study has discussed student achievement partially in the context of three demographic measures for which data is available: (1) free lunch participation; (2) a school's "mobility" rate; and (3) attendance. In all three areas, Section III demonstrated that MPS specialty schools are distinct from MPS regular or traditional schools.

Information also was presented regarding the screening (formal and informal) which has affected admission, over time, to MPS specialty schools. The writer contends that these distinctions explains much of the difference in academic achievement between MPS specialty and regular schools.

To what extent do similar issues also come into play in evaluating achievement of suburban Chapter 220 transfer students?

Screening

Suburban districts have used various means to select applicants from among the Milwaukee students seeking to transfer. The mere fact that total applications always have exceeded available slots means that some selection or screening has occurred.

Kritek's 1979 study includes an early reference to screening:

> "The contracts entered into by [MPS] and suburban school districts generally specify application and final enrollment dates, fix the maximum number of students to be accepted and identify the grade levels. Most contracts indicate that no students with exceptional education needs will be admitted to the suburban schools. Some of the contracts contain provisions requiring city parents to attend orientation meetings before their children will be accepted; indicate that priority will be given to siblings; [and] specify standards for selection including procedures for choosing qualified students by lot..."

In Staff Report #4 to the Study Commission, Professor Witte stated, in discussing suburban achievement levels, that: "It is true...that suburban districts have discretion in selecting [minority] students for transfer [under Chapter 220] and this undoubtedly has some effect on achievement levels..."

The nature and extent to which suburbs screen students became a point of controversy and ultimately a point of contention in the lawsuit. Testimony on this issue was offered during the trial and reviewed for this report. Information assembled for this report supports the conclusion that screening did and does occur.

One simple measure of this can be gained by reviewing the **allowable** forms of screening agreed to by MPS as part of the 1987 settlement. This agreement was said to represent significant progress in **reducing** the types of screening that previously occurred.

The full text of the relevant portion, labelled "No Screening," is on pages 4-6 of the Settlement Agreement. While it prohibits screening based on criteria not used for resident students, several specific exceptions are provided:

-students with disciplinary problems;

-students with attendance problems;

-students requiring bilingual education;

-pre-kindergarten students who have not been screened for exceptional education needs; and

-students diagnosed as having exceptional education needs.

In addition, in the many districts where applications exceed the number of slots a district has established, a district may give preference to: siblings; students attending a school in the district such as a middle school student applying for high school admission; or to students selecting the district as their first choice.

Further, in an oversubscribed situation, a district may "take into account the academic skills of transfer applicants to promote a balanced representation among transfer students of academic skills..."

All applications to suburban districts are on a form which includes information supplied by MPS under such categories as:

> -"Competency Testing" (for middle and high school students);
>
> -"Disciplinary Segments...Information Attached";
>
> -"Most Recent Test Results";
>
> -"Differential Aptitude Test Percentile Ranks if available";
>
> -"Copy of the Current Report Card"; and
>
> -"Remarks: (include prediction of success and any other appropriate information)." According to the MPS coordinator for the Chapter 220 program, this section routinely is filled in by a system employe familiar with the student.

Districts also may specify the grades and sections where slots are available. Many districts, particularly those new to the program, limit admissions to kindergarten or first grade.

Further, based on previously cited data regarding Whitnall and New Berlin, the possibility exists that some districts screen between members of different minority groups. This study has not sought to validate that such screening occurs either in Whitnall or New Berlin; the possibility is raised by the disproportionate percent of Asian students transferring to each jurisdiction. There is still another potential basis for screening: the acceptance of students transferring from private schools over students seeking to transfer from MPS. The transfer of private school students was noted by Kritek in his 1977 article. In commenting on the "most compelling reason" for a parent to pick the program -- "a desire for a 'better' education" -- Kritek said:

> "It should be noted that 23% of the minority group students attended private or parochial schools prior to transferring to suburban schools. The parental desire for a 'better' education could be worked out more economically because of Chapter 220."

The transfer of minority students from private to suburban schools through Chapter 220 continues to be significant. Nine districts providing information for this study listed the prior school attended by students. For those districts, between 250 and 300 students, or more than 10%, had transferred from private schools. This is an estimate rather than a precise number, because it was not always possible to discern whether a listed school was private or not. In some districts, a near-majority or actual majority of entering students either transferred from a private school or entered at kindergarten or first grade.

To all the above factors must be added the significant issue of parent motivation. The application process is complicated and time-consuming. As others cited in this report have noted, it is likely that Chapter 220 students are from families with heightened parental participation in their children's education.

Cumulatively, the screening and selection decisions a district is able to make are substantial.

Research for this report gathered information on the three social/demographic measures cited earlier: free lunch; mobility; and attendance.

Regarding **mobility**, the author spoke with superintendents or administrators in seven of 23 suburban districts. After explaining the methodology used by MPS to calculate a school's mobility rate (see Section III), these officials were asked to characterize mobility in their districts. None believed that their mobility rates would exceed 1% or 2% compared to **30%** in MPS regular schools. The mobility rate thus clearly appears lower in the suburbs than in MPS specialty schools, and much lower than in MPS regular schools.

Regarding **attendance,** a sample of 16 of 23 suburban districts shows attendance rates 5% to 9% higher than in MPS. A 5% difference would equal nine days a year, assuming a 180-day school year. On a separate measure, the rate of unexcused absences, the MPS average of 2.5% is five times the average metropolitan rate of 0.48% according to 1988 and 1989 Public Policy Forum education reports. Suburban attendance rates for Chapter 220 students thus appear significantly above those for students at regular MPS schools and at least equal to those at MPS specialty schools.

Regarding **family income,** 14 of 23 suburban districts provided the number of Chapter 220 students in the free lunch program for which eligibility is determined by family income. Based on this information, the report estimates free lunch participation in a 15th district, as explained below.

Table IV-10 shows free lunch participation for 14 districts and an estimate for Nicolet. Data for Nicolet, which does not have a free lunch program, was estimated using a weighted participation rate equal to that of the three K-8 feeder districts to Nicolet. These schools are the primary source of Chapter 220 transfers accepted at Nicolet, according to Nicolet.

Table IV-10

Free Lunch Participation -- Chapter 220 Transfers

DISTRICT	# OF 220 TRANSFERS	FREE LUNCH PARTICIPANTS	FREE LUNCH AS % OF TOTAL
K-8 Feeder Districts to Nicolet UHS:			
-Glendale #1	121	25	21%
-Fox Point#2	124	16	13%
-Fox Point#8	86	17	20%
-Nicolet	219	38	*18%*
Whitnall	281	169	60%
Franklin	175	141	81%
Men. Falls	145	65	45%
Greenfield	231	139	60%
Greendale	230	124	54%
Brown Deer	163	26	16%
Mequon	115	32	28%
St. Francis	96	94	98%
Shorewood	256	66	26%
So. Milwaukee	216	89	41%
New Berlin	34	3	9%
TOTALS	**2,492**	**1,044**	**42%**

*Nicolet estimates based on weighted % rate for the three K-8 feeder districts

The estimated participation rate of 42% for K-12 compares with rates in MPS of 61% for elementary schools, 58% for middle schools, and 41% for high schools. The majority of Chapter 220 students are at elementary and middle schools.

The districts in **bold face** are districts with substantial Chapter 220 participation prior to 1984-85, when significant growth began to occur. These districts tend to be more representative of Chapter 220 participation over the 13-year history of the program. Their totals are shown in Table IV-11.

Table IV-11

DISTRICT	# OF 220 TRANSFERS	FREE LUNCH PARTICIPANTS	FREE LUNCH AS % OF TOTAL
K-8 Feeder Districts to Nicolet UHS:			
-Glendale #1	121	25	21%
-Fox Point#2	124	16	13%
-Fox Point#8	86	17	20%
-Nicolet	219	38	18%
Greendale	230	124	54%
Brown Deer*	163	26	16%
Shorewood	256	66	26%
So. Milwaukee	216	89	41%
TOTALS	**1,415**	**401**	**28%**

*Brown Deer provided a list of all students (resident and transfer) eligible for free lunch and a separate list of transfer students. The number of transfer students eligible for free lunch was derived from the two lists. The district declined to confirm the validity of the derived number. All other responding districts provided a specific number.

Data from Tables IV-10 and IV-11 indicate that:

-Chapter 220 program growth has been accompanied by an increase in the percentage of students eligible for free lunch.

-Average participation rates are most similar to those of MPS students at specialty schools, but there is a wide range, from 9% to 98%. Research did not include an effort to explain this.

-Some districts have participation rates comparable to or higher than **regular** MPS schools. The high rates (80% and 98%) in Franklin and St. Francis are noteworthy; research for this report did not include an effort to explain this.

-Most of the early program participants, and some newer ones, have significantly lower free lunch participation than MPS.

CONCLUSIONS

This section has reviewed:

-the performance of suburban public schools, compared to MPS (Part A).

-previous research on academic achievement of Chapter 220 students (Part B).

-new research developed for this report on who Chapter 220 students are and levels of academic achievement in districts with 30% of transfer students (Part C).

The information on student selection and demographic characteristics supports a conclusion that Chapter 220 students do not represent the MPS minority population. They more closely resemble the group of minority students at specialty schools.

Achievement data for transfer students indicate test scores and GPAs similar to those of minority specialty school students in MPS. Similarities include not only comparable absolute scores and GPAs, but also similar gaps between black and white scores. **This leads to the conclusion that performance of minority transfer students generally compares to those in MPS specialty schools.**

Chapter 220 has enabled some minority transfer students to find a challenging and supportive academic climate, particularly in comparison to that which exists in traditional MPS high schools. For those who otherwise would have attended a traditional high school, this appears to be a major benefit.

The data show that the city-suburban program has not been available to Milwaukee minority students with the greatest needs. The structure and operation of the program has tended to exclude these students from the likelihood of participation.

SECTION V

ACCOUNTABILITY & LEADERSHIP: MISSING INGREDIENTS

Few programs financed by Wisconsin taxpayers have existed so long, with so little evaluation.

During a period of 13 years, the State of Wisconsin has provided $334.9 million to MPS and suburban districts to implement Chapter 220. Yet, a citizen reviewing the state budget bill would not know it exists. And most suburban districts don't compile basic information on the academic achievement of Chapter 220 students.

Accountability

What explains the lack of accountability and program evaluation?

Any discussion of this question must recognize the financial impact of Chapter 220.

In Professor Kritek's 1979 Chapter 220 report, he cites a study by Miriam Palay ("Chapter 220, Student Exchanges Between City and Suburbs -- The Milwaukee Experience," Urban Observatory Spring 1978). According to this study, surveyed school board members ranked state financial benefits as the top reason for participation.

Kritek's 1977 article and 1979 study discuss why these benefits are attractive:

> "Chapter 220 provides a substantial financial incentive....During a period of declining enrollment and [then-existing] state-imposed cost controls, the aid formula looks attractive.
>
> "The intradistrict transfer provision allows Milwaukee to count most students transferred...as 1.2 for the purpose of state aid [later raised to 1.325]...
>
> "The interdistrict transfer provision allows the sending district to continue counting the transferee as one pupil for state aid purposes...
>
> "The receiving district is entitled to receive the *full* cost of the transfer student's education from the state. (This is raised to 1.2 times the full cost if the receiving district accepts transfers of 5% of its resident enrollment).
>
> "Finally, the law pays the full costs of student transportation." (1977 Article)
>
> "Consideration should be given to alternate funding formulas...it is not clear whether paying the 'full cost' of a child's education is necessary...to actually cover the costs of a few additional students...
>
> "Whatever the funding formula, there should be a move to increase accountability regarding use of Chapter 220 funds...a district receiving

> funds should be required to submit a report...indicating how...the funds were used to improve achievement levels..." (1979 Study)

In the same year of Kritek's latter recommendation, the state decided to reduce program accountability by eliminating the published appropriation for the program. This was done to insulate the program from scrutiny.

Chapter 220 aid now is a key source of non-property tax revenue for local school districts, accounting for more than 10% of some budgets; school officials are reluctant for that to change.

Even the completely unjustified "bonus" aid has, so far, survived another state budget. After criticism of this payment last year, some talked of its possible elimination:

> -The president of the Mequon School Board wrote in a December, 1988, newspaper column that "ever since the [1987] settlement of the lawsuit, it has been known that the bonus would come under legislative scrutiny..."
>
> -Also in December, the Superintendent of Brown Deer Schools wrote: "We don't need the 'ample' bonus. We will be supporting elimination of the bonus" in the legislative session which began the following month (January, 1989).

Several suburban districts have paid thousands of dollars for lobbying expenses during the current legislative budget session. There is no evidence they recommended elimination of the bonus; the budget recommended in early June by the Joint Committee on Finance makes no change in the provision.

A further assessment of program finances comes from some community leaders:

> -Mary Bills, a member of the Milwaukee School Board, spoke of the MPS involvement in lobbying for the state aid plan which provides an incentive for busing: "That was the driving factor for the administration -- money from Chapter 220." (Milwaukee Magazine, September, 1986).
>
> -Charlotte Reed, an associate education professor at Alverno College, spoke before suburban school officials in April. A news report paraphrased her as saying that in some suburbs integration is driven more by state aid than a desire for integration. She also was quoted directly: "The bottom line is they really don't want the students, they want the money." (Milwaukee Journal, April 24, 1989).

Money remains an important factor for MPS. Earlier this year it proposed new school choice options for Milwaukee parents. A press release referred to Chapter 220 as the proposed means of financing transportation under the new plan. The press release camouflaged the real news in the proposal: a proposal to increase substantially state busing aid by repealing the state law restricting Chapter 220 aid to transfers which promote racial balance. See separate discussion, Section II.

The reluctance to review program costs is changing. The Legislature's budget committee recently endorsed a plan by Governor Thompson calling for public reports on how MPS and suburbs spend interdistrict dollars. This is similar to Kritek's 1979 proposal. Also, a proposal to create a separate, published appropriation is being considered.

Such reports will address an important need for more information.

Suburban Milwaukee districts have received $79.9 million in interdistrict funds since 1976. This includes $8.6 million in bonus aid. A major purpose of this aid was to increase academic performance of minority transfers to those districts. Yet, until requested in 1988 to do so for this study, only one suburban district is known to have made public on a regular basis academic achievement data for Chapter 220 students. In response to two requests in 1988, 7 of 19 districts issued some data (see Section IV and The Suburban Response below).

Leadership

Segments of Milwaukee's leadership structure have made significant commitments to the "Chapter 220 process." There has not been equal enthusiasm for examining if the program has produced worthwhile outcomes.

There have been several signals that the program was not working as intended. Selected examples:

> 1) Kritek's 1979 study spoke clearly of the program's substantial and unnecessary financial benefits:
>
> 2) In 1984, the Milwaukee Integration Resource Center (MIRC) circulated busing diagrams similar to those in Section II. An organization of primarily black parents, called Two Way or No Way, also had protested the disproportionate busing of black students.
>
> 3) In 1984, Dr. Smuckler's thesis showed no evidence of academic gains for Chapter 220 elementary students she studied. It was discussed on an hour-long local television show devoted to the integration issue.
>
> 4) Later in 1984, the state's Legislative Audit Bureau issued a report on Chapter 220 costs and some educational aspects of the program. Among other things, it highlighted some of the inequitable busing and neighborhood impacts on blacks.
>
> 5) In 1985, the Study Commission documented the low performance of most black students in MPS, nine years into the integration program. The Commission research also hinted at possible problems of equity and achievement in specialty schools and suburban districts.
>
> 6) In 1985, Dr. Fuller's thesis on the impact of busing was completed. A year later, it provided the basis for an investigative story by Milwaukee Magazine; the article coincided with the 10th anniversary of the federal integration order. It was headlined "Why It Failed." At the time, most of the press was printing articles and editorials in which proponents of Chapter 220 congratulated themselves on how well things were going. The conventional test of the program's success was how "peaceful" integration had been.
>
> 7) More recently, two other black educators raised questions about the effectiveness of Chapter 220. Dr. Jackson's thesis was described in Section IV. Separately, Cecil Austin's resignation as assistant principal

of Shorewood High School was accompanied by criticism of Chapter 220 student achievement.

The Suburban Response

Research for this study began a year ago. An initial request to suburbs was issued in June, 1988, for standardized achievement test results of Chapter 220 students and other information.

Some suburbs answered some questions, but none provided achievement data. After 13 years of Chapter 220, apparently only one district -- Nicolet -- regularly compiled and issued achievement test information for Chapter 220 students.

The initial suburban response thus precluded a review of academic achievement. Instead, a report was issued in October, 1988, which focused on data about the cost of the program. Some suburban officials -- including those who did not respond to the initial request for achievement data -- criticized this report for not focusing on the academic benefits of Chapter 220.

A second effort was made to obtain achievement data. A request was submitted in November and was discussed with a group of suburban superintendents. The reaction varied. Some superintendents didn't want to assist in an effort which they believed was negative. Others were non-committal or somewhat supportive.

State Representative Rebecca Young wrote the districts requesting that they respond with data on academic achievement. Eventually, 7 of 19 districts provided achievement test data for 1987-88. (See Section IV) Nicolet also provided reports issued by its Chapter 220 coordinator. The Nicolet reports appear to be the only documents about suburban Chapter 220 academic achievement which are issued regularly by a suburban district.

Five of the seven districts issued invoices, for costs totalling slightly less than $1,000, seeking reimbursement for assembling the data. The five districts -- Nicolet, Maple Dale - Indian Hills, Glendale, Whitnall, and Menomonee Falls -- will receive a total of $5.2 million in Basic and Bonus Aid this year.

The two districts which provided academic achievement data without submitting invoices were Franklin and Fox Point - Bayside.

The 12 suburban districts with Chapter 220 students in 1987-88 which did not release academic achievement data for those students are: Brown Deer; Cudahy; Greendale; Greenfield; Mequon; Oak Creek (which said it would provide the information for $500); St. Francis; Shorewood; South Milwaukee; Wauwatosa; West Allis; and Whitefish Bay. These districts will receive about $17.3 million in Basic and Bonus Aid this year.

While most districts did not provide academic achievement data, many did provide information regarding free lunch participation, prior school attendance of transferees, and other responses to the November and subsequent requests.

The Coordinating Council Research Project

In December 1988 a group of suburban administrators decided to finance an "independent" research effort through the Chapter 220 Coordinating Council. Because of the Council's sizeable budget (See Section I), several superintendents believed some initial information on program effectiveness could be shared with the Legislature in 1989.

Some districts stated that Coordinating Council research would represent a professional and timely response to questions being raised about program costs.

Brown Deer Superintendent Ken Moe wrote: "We plan to do our own research...and report it to the Legislature" in 1989.

This research commitment was formalized at the December 19, 1988, meeting of the Coordinating Council. The Council directed that its:

> "Director, staff, and such contractors and consultants as may be appropriate, should expeditiously commence and carry out a comprehensive, long term research strategy designed to illuminate various aspects of integrated education in general and the inter-district transfer program in particular, and, in addition, conduct appropriate public information and information dissemination activities related to the purposes and outcomes of [the] research."

In the spring of 1989, some Council members asked Dr. Stevens about the December directive that he "expeditiously commence" a research strategy on Chapter 220 effectiveness. Some members had expected an initial work product to be nearing completion. A suburban superintendent said the need for research "is the one thing the whole Council has been able to agree on up to now."

Stevens told Council members a research plan was "imbedded" in a work plan for the CEO staff which had recently been developed. This subsequently was explained to mean that no research would be completed in the budget year ending June 30, 1989.

During discussion of the second year budget, Stevens said it included only enough funds "to allow us to begin to get into the position to do research." He said this would include a "first cut product, a study which defines the issues and lays out the groundwork for definitive analysis to be done later." He explained that in the $762,000 second year budget "the funds simply aren't there" to do research.

After further discussion, Stevens said the second year budget did not provide for research unless outside grants could be obtained. He told the Council's Operations Committee: "Between now and mid-1993 we need to put on the table some solid research." The Operations Committee recommended, and the full Council approved, a change in allocation of the $762,000 so research could begin in the year starting July 1, 1989.

It is not yet clear that independent Chapter 220 research would occur under the auspices of the CEO.

MPS and DPI

For the original report on program costs, and the current study, the Milwaukee Public Schools and Department of Public Instruction have responded in a timely manner to requests for public information.

The requests made of MPS have been particularly substantial.

DPI has provided thorough historical information regarding the program's legislative history and expenditures.

SECTION VI

RECOMMENDATIONS

The program of school integration in Milwaukee has a major gap between stated public policy and actual implementation. Change is needed to move the program in line with policy and fiscal needs.

The **policy** of the Wisconsin Legislature includes support of busing for:

> "...cultural and racial integration in education **where students and parents desire such transfer and where schools and school districts determine that such transfers serve educational interests**" (emphasis added, Chapter 220, Laws of 1975)

The **policy** of the Milwaukee School Board on racial balance includes the following:

> "Any student **desiring** to attend a racially balanced school shall have the **right** to do so." (emphasis added, MPS INFO # 45, January 1986)

These policies envision a program driven by parent and student preference and evidence of resulting educational benefit.

This study has established that substantial numbers of transfers within Milwaukee do not meet the test of parent and student choice. Further, the unacceptable level of academic achievement shows that Chapter 220 has not met the test of "serv[ing] educational interests" which the Legislature established.

A major reason these policies have not been followed is that the **plans** developed to implement them reflect a much different mindset:

> **"Segregation is wrong regardless of the circumstances of the case. School boards and superintendents...always should err on the side of reducing racial isolation."** ("Integrate city and suburban students, and put and end to racial isolation," by David A. Bennett, The American School Board Journal, May, 1989)

> **"School integration is not optional...for [school districts and state governments] the question is not whether, but how."** ("Interdistrict Transfer Program Discussion," by Dr. Leonard B. Stevens, February 3, 1989, memo to Chapter 220 Coordinating Council)

Dr. Bennett was deputy superintendent in Milwaukee from the mid-70s to mid-80s. He was primarily responsible for developing, with Lee McMurrin, the MPS busing and integration plan (see Section II). Before leaving to become superintendent of schools in St. Paul, he helped lay the groundwork for the 1984 metropolitan lawsuit. Dr. Stevens is staff director of the Chapter 220 Coordinating Council, created to help implement the lawsuit Settlement Agreement (see Sections I and V).

The problem with Bennett's approach is that it leads to mandates and imperatives for parents that don't relate to effective education. It resulted in a plan -- the MPS plan -- which turned out to be an educational failure. It discriminates against many blacks, who were supposed to benefit most. It works against essential elements of parent and community involvement in schools. It reflects assumptions about blacks which at best are paternalistic. These assumptions foster low expectations for black students. It is an approach which resulted in a new form of segregation and discrimination. It contradicts *Brown v. Board of Education,* rather than implementing it.

Clarence Page, Pulitzer Prize winning columnist for the Chicago Tribune, wrote in the February 21, 1989, Milwaukee Sentinel:

> "Black parents are...increasingly annoyed that busing...has nurtured a myth that black youngsters cannot learn unless they are sitting next to whites...
>
> "'Integration,' for all of its noble qualities, unfortunately has come to imply that blacks somehow are doomed to failure unless they study, work, live and consume in close proximity to whites.
>
> "While no one is yearning to return to the bad old days when blacks where confined by white bigotry to ghettos, it it (worth recalling) the positive values and working community relationships that enabled black-owned businesses and other community institutions to thrive...providing jobs and valuable role models for others."

Page cites a new book ("Survival of the Black Family," by K. Sue Jewell, a black studies assistant professor at Ohio State University). Jewell argues that well-intentioned liberal social policies have undermined "mutual aid networks" in black communities. She advocates a change in policies so they will work through community organizations, not around them.

The Milwaukee integration plan and Chapter 220 need fundamental change to return to the policies of parent choice and educational effectiveness which the state and MPS have established.

PROPOSALS

The State of Wisconsin, which finances all of Chapter 220 and the majority of MPS spending, should evaluate program costs and benefits. This could be done in concert with one or more university schools of education.

Several changes in program operation and policy should be considered.

1. The Legislature's stated policy of supporting voluntary transfers should be reaffirmed and strengthened. Any parent in metropolitan Milwaukee should be guaranteed the right to enroll his or her child in an integrated school **if that is the parent's desire.**

2. At the same time, MPS should not be allowed to use race quotas as a basis for **telling parents where their children are allowed to go to school.** (Those who advocate continued mandatory busing should meet two tests: Would they submit their children to the forced busing? Will they insist on a system in which whites are bused to the same degree as blacks?)

3. MPS can focus on proven strategies to improve academic achievement if it is not preoccupied with administering a mandatory pupil assignment system based on race.

4. The financial incentives in Chapter 220 should be removed:

> State payments for busing should pay only for voluntary transfers, and then only for reasonable costs. There should be no financial incentive to bus.
>
> State payments for transfer students' education should cover only reasonable cost increases. "Full cost" payments should be phased out starting with the 1993 expiration of the Settlement Agreement.
>
> Twenty per cent "Bonus Aid" should be eliminated immediately.
>
> "Sender Aid" should be eliminated immediately.

5. New schools should be built **where children live and to reflect parent preferences for school assignment.** A substantial portion of the construction cost could be financed by redirecting funds now used for Chapter 220 bonus aid, sender aid, and busing incentives.

6. The state should not provide aid for transfers which involve screening based on a student's previous academic achievement. Except for properly developed "gifted and talented" programs, student assignment should be random with respect to prior academic records.

7. Suburban students should not have priority access, over Milwaukee students, to MPS schools.

Some of the suggested changes can be implemented soon; others would require modifying the court-approved 1987 Settlement Agreement or waiting until it expires in 1993.

Real change, whatever the specifics, cannot be implemented without support from the new MPS Superintendent and its Board of Directors. Even if they are interested in some form of change, resistance from other quarters will be strong.

A retreat from civil rights?

Some treat questioning of Chapter 220 as a retreat from civil rights or even as racist. One Coordinating Council member attributed recent criticism of its budget as stemming partly from racism. "As a black person, I am not fooled. The anti-integration tide is rising," said an NAACP representative on the Council.

A member of the Council staff even sounded a note of rebuke in responding to a suburban superintendent's questions on the Council budget. The staff member began his answer by telling the superintendent he had accepted employment with the Council on the assumption the suburbs really were committed to integration.

On June 6, columnist Page addressed this type of response: "Call me old-fashioned, but I still cling to the belief that schools should educate students. I also believe...taxpayers should get their money's worth for what they pay...[T]here are modern-day educators who seem to think I'm hopelessly out of date. In fact, some might go so far as to say I'm a 'racist'." Page, who is black, wrote that describing ineffective school policies is "not racism. It's reality."

Leadership

The suburbs should show leadership. They at least should propose elimination of bonus payments and come up with a plan to further reduce screening. Also, the Coordinating Council should establish a focused mission, support the Ombudsperson, get its budget back in line, and let school district officials spend more of their time on school district business. They should drop the idea that the Council is the best place from which to fund or direct "independent" research.

Other elected officials, particularly those whose budgets are determined by the educational outcomes in MPS, should support change.

A 1986 MPS report on school facilities planning stated: "Desegregation is the most important factor in future policy development." An alternative is for **education** to be the most important factor in future policy development.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The Wisconsin Policy Research Institute is a not-for-profit institute established to study public policy issues affecting the state of Wisconsin.

Under the new federalism, government policy increasingly is made at the state and local level. These public policy decisions affect the lives of every citizen in the state of Wisconsin. Our goal is to provide nonpartisan research on key issues that affect citizens living in Wisconsin so that their elected representatives are able to make informed decisions to improve the quality of life and future of the State.

Our major priority is to improve the accountability of Wisconsin's government. State and local government must be responsive to the citizens of Wisconsin in terms of the programs they devise and the tax money they spend. Accountability should be made available in every major area to which Wisconsin devotes the public's funds.

The agenda for the Institute's activities will direct attention and resources to study the following issues: education; welfare and social services; criminal justice; taxes and spending; and economic development.

We believe that the views of the citizens of Wisconsin should guide the decisions of government officials. To help accomplish this, we will conduct semi-annual public opinion polls that are structured to enable the citizens of Wisconsin to inform government officials about how they view major statewide issues. These polls will be disseminated through the media and be made available to the general public and to the legislative and executive branches of State government. It is essential that elected officials remember that all the programs established and all the money spent comes from the citizens of the State of Wisconsin and is made available through their taxes. Public policy should reflect the real needs and concerns of all the citizens of Wisconsin and not those of specific special interest groups.